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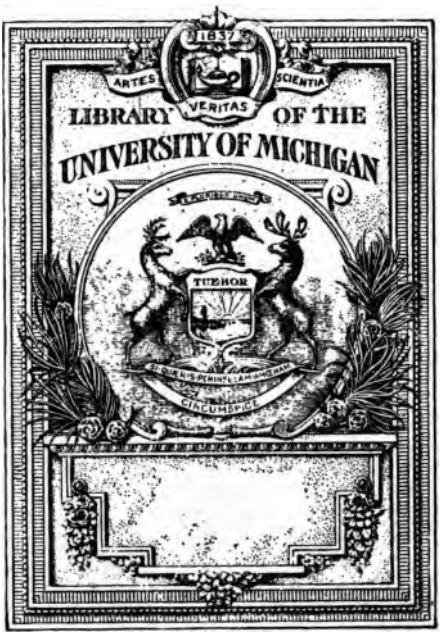
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INFINITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN OLD SPANISH

BY
WILFRED A. BEARDSLEY, PH.D.

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TO MY MOTHER

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INTRODUCTION

When the study of the infinitive and its attendant locutions suggested itself as a desirable contribution to the understanding of Spanish syntax, the subject was first thought of with especial reference to the present-day forms of speech. A little application and reflection, however, was sufficient to establish the importance of laying a sure foundation on the testimony of the earliest literary documents. In the course of time it has come about that the present volume is at last submitted to scholars in the modest hope that it may serve not only as a systematic record of the facts in the case, but also and especially as an aid in the comprehension of modern phenomena in the light of their origin and historical relations.

Two distinct methods of treating the available material are well illustrated by the two earlier outstanding studies of a similar nature: by Richard Otto's *Der portugiesische Infinitiv bei Camões* and R. Dittes's *Über den Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Altprovenzalischen*, to be found respectively in volumes 6 and 15 of *Romanische Forschungen*. Otto coördinates his material in chapters on *the pure infinitive, the infinitive with* **á**, *the infinitive with* **de**, etc., completing, as he advances, under the caption of the various prepositions, each successive division of his entire subject. Dittes, on the other hand, considers of prime interest the grammatical category to which each of the infinitive constructions belongs, e.g., the *infinitive as subject, the infinitive as object*, etc. Each of these two methods has its obvious advantages, the first chiefly in that it emphasizes the importance of the function of the preposition in the various infinitive locutions, the second in that it follows more consistently a well-ordered grammatical plan. That of Otto is the more practical,

because it relates itself the more readily to the facts of the modern language, the infinitive being generally thought of not as a grammatical abstraction but as a dependent of its prepositional concomitant. It is also the more feasible because it avoids the juxtaposition of numerous heterogeneous examples that occurs when large grammatical categories, such as the "infinitive as object," are manipulated in aggregations that are bound to become unwieldy. Dittes, for example, assembles under the object-infinitive no less than fifteen groups of verbs, classified according to general resemblances of meaning, to which he is compelled to append — in a final counsel of desperation — a sixteenth group of unclassifiable cases (verbs *die sich in keine der bisher angeführten Gruppen einreihen lassen*). If Dittes had made a really thoroughgoing study of his entire field — which unfortunately he was very far from doing — he would doubtless have found himself involved in various still more trying complications. Subtleties of classification may make a certain appeal to the investigator's cunning, but have little if any value to the outside world; on the contrary, they definitely detract from a clear vision and apprehension of the actual problems in hand, since the greater part of the investigator's effort is directed towards the systematization rather than toward the elucidation of the many interesting phenomena encountered in his quest.

These treatises by Otto and Dittes may also serve as striking examples of two divergent notions as to the choice of the territory to be covered in such investigations. Dittes undauntedly selects a whole literature and then proceeds to glean an occasional illustration from each of a large number of sources. Otto, on the other hand, studies the use of the infinitive as exemplified in Camões alone, but does so in such careful detail that valuable bases for comparison as to the frequency, import, scope and *nuances* of each individual construction are offered for the edification of the reader. In accomplishing this, Otto has at the same time pointed a valuable moral. If an investigation of this type is not exhaustive, it misses the greater part of its potential significance. It is not enough to give a cursory

consideration to the more striking and conspicuous phenomena; the rare and remote construction may be the very one that is needed to demonstrate an obscure but interesting point.

In the present study an earnest effort has been made to treat thoroughly a few of the earliest texts of the old Spanish literature rather than to cover all texts in a necessarily superficial and inadequate way. Continual use has been made of R. Menéndez Pidal's masterly edition of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, both because of the excellent text of the *Cid* therein provided and because of the many keen observations made by this foremost Spanish scholar on all the phenomena noted in his poem. Of Gonzalo de Berceo all the extant works have been utilized, the edition of John D. Fitz-Gerald for the *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* and that of Antonio Solalinde for *El Sacrificio de la Misa*, along with Florencio Janer's presentment of Berceo's poems in Volume 57 of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. These latter include, beside *La Vida del . . . Sancto Domingo de Silos* and *Del Sacrifiçio de la Missa*, *La Estoria de Sennor Sant Millan*, *El Martyrio de Sant Laurençio*, *Loores de Nuestra Sennora*, *De los Signos que aparesçeran ante del Juiçio*, *Milagros de Nuestra Sennora*, *El Duelo que fizo la Virgen Maria el Dia de la Pasion de su Fijo Jesu Christo* and the *Vida de Sancta Oria, Virgen*. Morel-Fatio's edition of the Paris manuscript of the *Libro de Alixandre* has been made use of, as well as Janer's text in the *Autores Españoles*. By way of contrast with the above poetical works the *Primera Crónica General* (edition of R. Menéndez Pidal) was chosen because it contains an abundance of prose in a well-established text, and because the plural authorship offers a greater variety of constructions than would be found in other texts of similar extent. By reason of its slightly later date the *Crónica* not only offers a most valuable basis for comparison between the prose and the poetry, but serves excellently to indicate the progressive tendencies of the language in ordinary use.

Detailed mention need not be made here of all the works consulted in the progress of this study; these are more appropriately noted elsewhere. It may be said, however, that the

monumental works of Diez and of Meyer-Lübke on the grammar of the Romance languages have been found of the greatest possible usefulness, the syntactical theories of Diez having often proved themselves peculiarly sound, in spite of the fact that in special fields his investigations have been largely superseded by those of more recent scholars.

While this volume has been in course of publication there has appeared under the auspices of the "Centro de Estudios Históricos" and of R. Menéndez Pidal *La Oración y sus Partes* by Rodolfo Lenz — a syntactical study of modern Spanish along the newer psychological lines. This volume marks a decided departure from the traditional view of words and their relations, and must be taken serious account of by future expositors of Spanish syntax. The work is of special interest to linguistic scholars in general as well as to Hispanists, inasmuch as the well-known Chilean investigator has made in it an abundance of comparisons between constructions in Spanish, English, German, and South American Indian dialects. Regret must be expressed that more intimate references to it have not been possible in the body of this study.

To Professor Henry R. Lang of Yale University most cordial thanks are due for the suggestion of the subject treated and for the direction of initial efforts; to Professor Federico de Onís of Columbia University for valuable advice; and particularly to Professor Henry A. Todd of Columbia University for constant inspiration and aid during all stages of its development.

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PART I

THE PURE INFINITIVE

I. THE INFINITIVE AS SUBSTANTIVE

1. Brugmann[1] shows the origin of the infinitive to have been in the so-called *nomina actionis*, and he states:

> An infinitive may be said to be completely formed when the noun is no longer regarded as a case-form belonging to its own system, and its construction no longer follows the analogy of its original use as a noun. . . . Before, however, such forms were completely isolated from the nominal system, they passed through a number of intermediate stages, and hence it is often hard to say whether any particular form should be called an infinitive in the strict sense of the word.

In Latin the infinitive showed close similarity to the noun, but was capable of use only in the nominative and accusative cases.[2] It is true that as a substantive it could take the possessive adjective with it, but otherwise it was much restricted. In the early Romance period, when case distinctions disappeared, there disappeared also the distinction between noun and infinitive caused by difference of form. At this point, then, began the fusion of noun and infinitive uses that has progressed to so great an extent in all the Romance tongues. This dual nature — viz., of substantive and of verb — is generally quite easily perceptible in the infinitive, even in those Old Spanish occurrences where the infinitive is clearly treated as a substantive. The capacity of the infinitive to stand in

[1] *Comp. Gram. of the Indo-Germ. Lang.*, II, p. 470.
[2] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* III, p. 23, § 16.

a coördinate construction with a noun is shown by the following passages:

> sobrepuiaua en piedad et en dar elmosnas *Cron* 688a21
> et non de muerte nin morir, mas uenir *Cron* 701b50
> ca tal muerte conuiene a nos, et tomarla en tal articulo *Cron* 701b45
> con largos abondos de armas e de lidiar *Cron* 703b5
> prometiendoles . . . mucho bien et mucha merçed, et meiorarles los fueros, et baxarles los pechos *Cron* 705a42
> demandaron fabla et traer pleytesia con el rey *Cron* 766a37

In these citations the verb nature of the infinitive is clearly seen, yet also the ease with which it is used in noun constructions. None of the customary marks of the infinitive as substantive are noted here, such as the presence of the article or of a descriptive or possessive adjective. In such instances as *un beuer*, etc., the concrete sense can hardly be mistaken. An approximation of infinitive to substantive can be seen in those instances where the simple infinitive is employed for either active or passive meaning, that is, where the action of the verb is merely named but not specified; e.g., in such phrases as *digno de adorar* it is possible to consider the verb as either active or passive, and only the context of the individual passage determines the point. In these places Latin would use the active infinitive for the active sense, and the passive infinitive for the passive sense, while in Romance the single form does duty for both senses. (The active and the passive infinitive forms of Latin were reduced to a single form in Romance, *amare* and *amari* both giving *amar*, etc. In the third conjugation analogy caused the adoption of the active form, *duci* disappearing in favor of *ducere*.) This does not mean that the regular compound passive, made up of *esse* or *stare* with past participle, was not used in Romance, but that in the early language the simple infinitive is much the more common with either active or passive meaning. The verb force of the infinitive, even when used as a substantive, appears more clearly in such a phrase as *el venir yo* than in *mi venir*. Furthermore, the

infinitive as substantive can take an object, a fact that proves the full verb value of this doubly useful form (*el tomar la villa*, etc.). Diez says that Spanish surpasses her sister languages in the varied constructions of the infinitive,[1] and it is indeed true that the uses in Spanish are both numerous and delicate. In the realm of the infinitive as substantive Old Spanish is extremely prolific, whether in prose or poetry, whether in the earliest or the latest texts. In the following pages will be indicated the infinitives as substantives used with simple article modifiers, a comparatively small class; those with more complicated modifiers, such as the adjectives of different kinds; those found in the plural; those with subjective and objective genitive; and lastly those having an object expressed.

The Infinitive as Substantive Unmodified or with the Article Only

2. The article with an infinitive was sufficient guarantee of the substantival nature of the latter to justify the employment of any given infinitive in the capacity of a noun.[2] The presence of the article did not by any means eliminate the verb value of the infinitive, but gave it a better right to act as subject or to take its place in a group of substantives. Among the infinitives used as substantives with no modification or with the articles only, the following show almost complete loss of verb force: *auer*, *beuer*, *pesar*, *plazer*, *poder*, *saber*. Yet such loss cannot be assumed as complete because of the frequency of use of any infinitive as substantive. A somewhat similar situation, but showing more of the verb, is noted in the English *holdings*, where even in the plural a vividness impossible in an ordinary substantive is given the word by the verb element present. Doubtless this can become a minimum, yet that it disappears completely is improbable. On the other hand, the verb idea is so predominant in *andar*, *correr*, *ferir*, *morir*, etc. that whether article or adjective is present to modify

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 198.

[2] See Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 225.

these infinitives or not, their substantival nature is not allowed to become conspicuous. In actual documents the number of infinitives with simple article modifiers is comparatively small, while those with more complicated modifiers, adjectives and adverbs, are frequent. A special *temporal* sense is present in *al* with an infinitive. This construction is current in our texts, the *Cid* yielding seven examples. The infinitive can take an object (*al leer estos duelos*), or a possessive adjective (*al so mandar*, Cron 66b41), but generally there is a genitive construction to be found. Illustrations of this are: *Al cargar de las arcas*, Cid 170; *al tirar de la lança*, Cid 3686; *al mudar de los sacos*, Cron 34a29. With verbs of motion, the genitive construction sometimes coincides with the *de* meaning *from: Al salir de la missa*, Cid 2070; *al partir del abbat*, Cid 1441; *Al salir de la ecclegia*, Cid 2241. Other examples of the *al tempôral* are: *Cid* 859, 2687, 3370; *Cron* 116b45, 255b6, 428b14, 492a29, 624a27.

The adaptability of the infinitive as substantive is well shown in:

> Çinco sesos del cuerpo que nos façen peccar,
> El ver, el oir, el oler, el gostar,
> El prender de las manos que diçimos tastar *Mil* 121

and in:

> Rey de los Reyes, que non conosçes par,
> en tu mano jaze el toller y el dar,
> el alçar e el premir, el ferir e el sanar *Alix* 2562

> el ajuntar *Cid* 373
> del andar e del planto *SMill* 353, *Alix* 2010
> non puedo traer el auer *Cid* 91
> perderie los aueres *Cid* 27

Auer also occurs in *Cid* 1254, 1261, 2260, 2495, 2529; *SDom* 114, 366; *SOria* 94; *Mil* 629; *Alix* 61, 375, etc.

> un beuer *Cron* 30a46, 30a49
> en el cantar *Alix* 1689, 144
> en vn caualgar *Alix* 1991

el comer . . . con dolor lo comades *Alix* 1724
El cometer fue malo *Cid* 3542
destoruan mucho el correr *Cron* 43a51
el dar le vale *Alix* 62
razones del disputar *Cron* 189a34
non perdere el dormir *Alix* 584, 28
tolloli el fablar *SDom* 560
Quando vynier al ferir *Alix* 75
e el fuyr peor *Alix* 1052
valen vn lydiar *Alix* 60, 573, 759
destas es el manar muy ayna quedado *Alix* 1599
Del minguar dize . . . *Cron* 66a10
el morir era malo *Alix* 1052
al mover todas se esperaban *Mil* 8
ovo fuertes signos en el nasçer *Alix* 2568
tolloli el oyr *SDom* 560
por dexar el pedir *SDom* 107
auie el pesar oluidado *Alix* 636

Pesar is also used in *Alix* 34, 35, 507, 584, 636; *SLaur* 102; *SDom* 191; *Sig* 30; *Cid* 313, 1270, 1647, 2026, 2311, 3441, etc.

en plazer caya a nos *Cid* 2629

Plazer also occurs in *Duelo* 45, 62; *SLaur* 102; *Alix* 120, 1824, 1963; *Sac* 107; *Mil* 741.

un poder *Himnos* 1. 6
en poder dessos *Cid* 2001

Poder is also noted in *Cid* 669, 967, 2122, 2161, 2546, 3536; *SDom* 177, 222; *Mil* 71, 743, etc.

Al posar . . . todos se esperaban *Mil* 8
creençia e saber *Himnos* 1. 6; *Alix* 16; *Mil* 828
duró el segudar *Cid* 777, 1148, 2407
Sequiere leyenda, siquiere el signar *Sac* 39

The Infinitive as Substantive in Plural

3. With the sign of the plural the infinitive loses its verbal quality almost entirely, and is in large part restricted to its concrete noun sense. It will be noticed that in most cases

the infinitives cited have been accepted as a part of the noun treasure of the language, and except philologically would hardly be classed under the category of infinitives. *Velares*, however, is an example of an infinitive in the plural retaining a considerable portion of its verbal force (*en conbatimientos et torneos et en velares*, Cron 746a16).

darian de sus averes *SDom* 743
averes menguados *SLaur* 56
Los aueres que tenemos grandes son *Cid* 2541

Aueres also occurs in *Cid* 27, 45, 101, 172, 795, 1218, 1249, 1800, 1978, 2257, 2529, 2541, 2550, 2552, 2705, 2912, 3206, 3216, 3218, 3222, 3236b, 3262, 3294, 3440, 3498; *Alix* 1575, 1585, 1862, 1863, 1873; *Mil* 627, 629.

mas que otros cantares *SDom* 318
cantares de llantos *Cron* 14a11
cantares dalegria *Cron* 41b33

veyendo los comeres *Alix* 2364
adúzenle los comeres *Cid* 1019
dandoles . . . pozon en los comeres *Cron* 126a3, 134b17

tantos maniares *Cron* 117b2
adobar maniares *Cron* 533b28

Grandes son los pesares *Cid* 3697
nin veriemos nosotros tantos malos pesares *Alix* 1802

fazienle muchos plazeres *Cron* 246a47
plazeres malos et lixosos *Cron* 271b26

grandes son los poderes *Cid* 669, 967
allego sus poderes *Alix* 1167, 821
Plego grandes poderes *Alix* 1169, 1669, 1869; *SMill* 454

las artes de los saberes *Cron* 137b20
sabidor . . . en todos los saberes de la eglesia *Cron* 159b11

çenas et . . . yantares *Sig* 40
adobar de jantares *Alix* 2469
guisaua sus yantares *Cron* 138a43

The Infinitive as Substantive Variously Modified

4. Examples are given in this section of the most current constructions of the early language in which the infinitive acts as a substantive with various modifiers, such as descriptive, demonstrative, and possessive adjectives. As noted by Diez,[1] the adverbs *bien* and *mal* (*bien estar*, *mal estar*, etc.) can be combined with an infinitive to form new substantives. Thus by utilizing the infinitive in numerous new combinations, a considerable new vocabulary with no small degree of color and vividness was ready for popular use. For this is the main function of the infinitive as substantive, that it lends vividness and color to almost every phrase in which it is employed. Observe the difference between *el morir* and *la muerte*, *el ferir* and *la ferida* (the *dying* and the *death*, the *striking* and the *stroke*). As mentioned before, this quality, due to the presence of the verb in the infinitive, may become extremely small, so that a close approximation to ordinary nouns may result (in this group *auer*, *comer*, *iantar*, *pesar*, *plazer*, *poder*, *vagar*). This is doubtless largely due to their frequency of use, and to the absence of any adequate nominal synonyms for the concepts involved. But it seems to be more a matter of degree of loss of verb strength than of absolute loss, since it requires little effort to see even in these instances a part of the verb element surviving.

de mucho andar *Alix* 2243
al mayor andar *Cron* 560a7
a grant andar *Cron* 731a4
grant aver[2] *SDom* 177, 306; *Mil* 379; *Cid* 617
auer monedado *Cid* 126, 1217; *Alix* 227, 969, 1266; *Mil* 876; *SDom* 420; *Sig* 42
aueres monedados *Cid* 172, 2257, 3236
aver prestado *Mil* 641
aver acreido *Mil* 684

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 200.
[2] See Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* II, *auer*.

aver en creido *Mil* 631, 672
aueres a nombre *Cid* 2705, 3262

Auer variously modified also occurs in *Cid* 101, 110, 125, 133, 484, 510, 617, 1218, 2468, 2550, 2552, 2912, 3206, 3216, 3222, 3294, 3440, 3498; *SDom* 743; *Mil* 627, 672, 678, 680; *Duelo* 62.

aquel beuer *Cron* 30a49
con buen beuer *Alix* 2133
con el primer beuer *Alix* 2569

aquel bollir fizo se con grand fuerça *Cron* 52b17

Las coplas deste cantar *Cid* 2276

todo el comer nombramos *Sac* 251
delgado comer *Cron* 680a40

de buen conoçer *Alix* 119
de menor conosçer *Alix* 1606

rrey . . . de tan buen creer *Alix* 1417
secund el mi creer *Mil* 645; *SMill* 140
a mi creer *Mil* 738

el su cresçer *Cron* 671a14
Sobreste cresçer e minguar dell imperio *Cron* 66a10

segunt mj cuidar *SDom* 581
al mio cuydar *Cron* 622a22

Non es nuestro deçir *Loor* 191

(*with adverb*) tu bien estar *Alix* 1254, 1073
todo su mal estar *Sac* 53
por mayor onta e mejor estar *Alix* 1695

(*with adverb*) non podie auer bien fazer *Cron* 719b26

sobreste ferir *Cron* 74a54

Iantar is the only feminine substantive-infinitive in Old Spanish. The feminine here is doubtless due to the frequent association of *iantar* with *çena*, as suggested by Cornu (*Romania* XIII, p. 307). At least five instances of such association are noted in our texts: *a iantar nin a çena*, SMill 192; *çena o yantar*, SDom 300; *nin çena nin yantar*, SDom 499; *a iantar e a çena*,

Mil 277; *mengua de iantar nin de çena,* Mil 298; *malas çenas e peores yantares,* Sig 40.

creçió en la iantar *Cid* 304
se guisaua la yantar *Cron* 433a37
dar yantar (a) *SDom* 355; *SMill* 257; *SLaur* 105
Grand yantar le fazen *Cid* 285

Iantar as substantive also appears in *SMill* 231 and *Cron* 665b45.

de mucho yazer *Alix* 2243

al so mandar *Cron* 66b41

en lugar dotro maniar *Cron* 93a7
un mal maniar *Duelo* 35

grant mal paresçer *Alix* 26
muy buen paresçer *SDom* 613
su bel paresçer *Alix* 2405
mi paresçer *Alix* 2243

grand pesar *Cid* 959; *Alix* 40, 588, 2123; *SOria* 145; *Mil* 398, 489, 601, 682, 791; *SMill* 76, 191, 233, 297
peor pesar *SMill* 254
a todo su pesar *SDom* 332, 416; *Alix* 156, 1264
a todo lur pesar *Alix* 213
tantos malos pesares *Alix* 1802
fiero pesar *Sig* 8; *Alix* 1404
auer pesar *Cid* 959, 1403, 1647, 2026, 2311; *SDom* 191; *Alix* 40, 1397, 1600, 1997, 2164, 2245, 2515, 2533
caer en pesar (a) *Cid* 313, 1270; *Alix* 2259
fazer pesar (a) *Alix* 35

grant plaçer *Mil* 488, 490, 625; *Alix* 3, 1539
mayor plaçer *SMill* 235
mucho plaçer *SOria* 153
a todo su plazer *Alix* 382
auer plazer *SDom* 282, 306, 568; *Alix* 1539, 1616, 1824, 1963, 2133, 2574
caer en plazer (a) *SDom* 99; *Cid* 2629; *Alix* 120; *Duelo* 45
fazer plazer (a) *Sac* 107; *Cid* 2150

grant poder *Mil* 388; *SMill* 235; *SDom* 287, 551; *Loor* 155; *Sig* 10; *Alix* 722, 1091, 1341, 1629, 1808, 1869, 2636
todo tu (su, *etc.*) poder *Alix* 77, 487, 563, 1046, 1870; *SDom* 306; *Mil* 738
en poder de *Alix* 54, 180; *Cid* 2001, 2122, 2161, 3536
a poder de *Alix* 563, 665, 1329
aver poder de *Alix* 996; *SDom* 581
dar poder (a) *SDom* 222, 287, 1630; *Alix* 2296
tener en poder *SDom* 177; *Alix* 120

Poder is used in similar locutions in *Cid* 486, 2105; *SMill* 454; *Loor* 23; *SDom* 82, 99, 153, 287, 292, 576.

su querer *Alix* 1542; *SMill* 164

de su regnar *Cron* 668a36

las uenas del respirar *Cron* 76b42

por otro saber *Duelo* 91

vuestro bien seer *Sac* 107

de otro semejar *Alix* 2247

auer vagar *SMill* 150; *Loor* 116, 174; *SDom* 384; *Cid* 2367; *Mil* 608; *Alix* 957, 996, 1900, 1994
dar vagar (a) *Cid* 3308, 3432; *Alix* 80, 537, 564, 618, 626, 724, 1077, 1090, 1316, 1558; *SMill* 445; *SLaur* 75, 88; *Duelo* 7; *Cron* 403b10
darse vagar *Alix* 202, 532, 586, 1713, 2076, 2217, 2567; *SMill* 415; *SLaur* 102; *Cid* 434, 650, 1823, 2921; *Cron* 403b40
estar de vagar *Alix* 1796
estar en vagar *Loor* 102; *Cron* 404b4

del mucho uelar *Cron* 17b47
a tod el velar *Cid* 2138

en su versificar *Alix* 232, 2077

The Infinitive as Substantive with Subjective Genitive

5. This construction offers a minimum of interest to our study because the extreme frequency of the phenomenon in the languages of today renders it familiar to all, and there is

little that can be added from Old Spanish. The noun or pronoun in the genitive relation is active, as opposed to the inactivity of the noun in genitive relation in the objective genitive construction. It is sometimes not clearly indicated whether a given genitive is acting or acted upon, whether the genitive is subjective or objective. Theoretically all cases in which the infinitive is transitive are open to confusion, actually the context permits a satisfactory solution in nearly all instances: *el prender de las manos que diçimos tastar*, Mil 121.

Sobreste crescer e minguar dell imperio *Cron* 66a10
est escreuir de las yentes *Cron* 99b42
el saber de los romanos *Cron* 185b3
el cresçer et el descreçer de la luna *Cron* 222a18
El cuydar de los omnes todo es vanidat *Alix* 968
del velar de la noche era mal quebrantado *Alix* 1307

The Infinitive as Substantive with Objective Genitive

6. This construction is more important to our study than that with subjective genitive because the infinitive retains a considerable part of its force as a verb, so that the noun or pronoun in the genitive is felt to be the real object of the transitive verb used. As mentioned above, the exact relation in these genitive phrases is not always clear, especially when the infinitive is transitive, and therefore open to two interpretations. Of this kind is *el saber de los romanos*, Cron 185b3, where *romanos* might theoretically be either the knowing or the known. The class of intransitive verbs of motion, with which the *de* indicates separation, is open to the same double rendering. Menéndez Pidal[1] says of *al partir del abbat*, Cid 1441: "á veces coincide la forma del genitivo con el régimen propio del verbo." A good example of the infinitive as substantive with objective genitive (also infinitive) not open to confusion is *Cron* 85b44: *es el saber*

[1] *Cid* I, § 159.

de fablar apuestamientre, where the *de* is evidently due to the substantival use of *saber*, since the verb *saber* does not need any *de* with its object.

Examples of the objective genitive are:

Al cargar de las archas veriedes gozo tanto *Cid* 170
al tirar de la lança *Cid* 3686
el saber de las estrellas *Cron* 658b22
ell fincar de los ynoios *Cron* 680a46
el usar de sus leyes *Cron* 103b19
el soltar de Sant Pedro *Cron* 120b6
al bendezir de las mesas *Cron* 492a29
del aorar de los idolos *Cron* 230b14

The Infinitive as Substantive with Object

7. Diez says [1] that the substantive-infinitive having an object is more precise than the same having an objective genitive. He cites the case of *il trepassar del fiume*, which is capable of the same double meaning as *el uencer de Roma*, Cron 232a18. It is evident that if the *de* is omitted with verbs taking a direct object, the most precise mode of expression is employed. The construction is quite rare in Old Spanish, though Otto states [2] that Castilian, Catalan, and Portuguese surpass all the other Romance languages in its use. It is interesting to note that he says also that Camões does not give a single example of this phenomenon in the *Luciades*, considering it non-classical. None of our own citations come from the *Cid*, and only one from Berceo.

Complia dias e noches todo su ministerio:
Ieiunios e vigilias e rezar el psalterio *SOria* 112
mandara el desfazer la ymagen de Jupiter . . . et leualla a Roma *Cron* 118a34
mando basteçer las fortalezas el refazer los muros de las uillas *Cron* 293b32
fazie muchas epistolas del aorar de los idolos et de poner en los templos ell altar del uençimiento *Cron* 230b14

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 200. [2] *Rom. Forsch.* VI, p. 306.

II. THE VERBAL PURE INFINITIVE

8. In treating the pure verbal infinitive after the infinitive as substantive, the classification of Otto for the infinitive in Camões has been utilized. This is more for convenience than because the infinitive as substantive is more important or more truly representative than the types to be treated in the sections following. In fact, it is true that as a pure substantive the infinitive does not have the more or less equally apportioned nature of noun and verb that is to be recognized in the majority of its uses. But there is no distinct line between the verb and noun uses of the infinitive, since even in the types called verbal the substantival sense can be felt, and vice versa. This is true of the pure infinitive as object, where it does not require much effort to sense a certain noun value in the verb form. For instance, *cobdiçio dinero* and *cobdiçio ganar* show the similarity and the difference between the simple noun and the infinitive. The introduction of a preposition destroys the perfect objective value of the infinitive, and permits the substantival side of its nature to be considerably less evident. *Comiençó trabaiar* and *comiençó a trabaiar* involve two quite different phases of the infinitive construction, the place value of the *a* (and in the same way the *relative* value of *de*) preventing the infinitive from really being the object of the active verb, even though currently such constructions are considered objective. Really they are substitutes for the object construction rather than that construction itself. The types of verbal pure infinitive so-called are those most fitting the substantive. This is evident from its use as subject of a verb, as predicate, and as object with numerous classes of verbs such as those of *wishing*, *ordering*, etc. It departs considerably from possible substantive value when it indicates *purpose*

with the verbs of motion (*venir ver*, *yr matar*, etc.). Its use with the relative and interrogative particles (*no sabe qué se far*, Cid 370) is also considerably outside the realm of substantive uses. But at least two-thirds of the types without preposition show much resemblance to noun uses, while with the preposition the resemblance diminishes visibly. Of course numerous distinctly prepositional senses (such as *cause*, *means*, etc.) are completely lacking to the pure infinitive. The only common prepositional sense found in the pure infinitive is that of *purpose* (and *goal*) mentioned above for the verbs of motion. This sense is not the same, however, in the pure infinitive and in the infinitive with the prepositions *a*, *por*, *pora* and *para*. Differences of degree and definiteness exist here that will be considered under the individual prepositions. It is enough to point out here that there is a difference, and that the pure and prepositional infinitives in such instances as *va besarla* and *va pora besarla* are not really equivalent.

THE PURE INFINITIVE AS SUBJECT

9. There is no dependable means of distinguishing the subject-infinitive from the substantive-infinitive, as in the nature of the two constructions there cannot be. It seems that perhaps the subject-infinitive might well be considered as a special type of the substantive-infinitive, since in order to fulfil the function of subject the substantive element must be particularly strong in the infinitive. Yet the usual modification of the ordinary substantive-infinitive is lacking in the infinitive as subject in the cases following, the articles or adjectives being absent, and an object being present more frequently than not. As Otto says,[1] this construction was common in Latin (*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*). In Romance this type was extended, and numerous instances occur of infinitive as subject with *de*, at least one with *a*, and various dependent uses of the subject under the pure infinitive (impersonal verbs, etc.). As stated above for the object-infinitive, so here it is

[1] *Rom. Forsch.* VI, p. 307. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 253.

equally true that the pure infinitive is the logical subject use, and that the preposition disturbs the perfect harmony of the construction. *De* is more harmless here than any other preposition because of its tendency to become almost colorless in meaning, while the others retain under any conditions a large part of their original import. Examples of pure infinitive-subject are:

tablados feryr non es barragania *Alix* 68
a los unos castiga, a los otros falaga,
. . . que dar que prometer a todos apaga *Alix* 73
cuydar non es saber *Alix* 1728
escriujr auentura seria grant folia *SDom* 751
en qual ganancia torna aDios serujçio far *SDom* 756
Iudgar ageno clerigo por ley es vedado *Mil* 905
fazer esto era el mayor et ell meior omenage *Cron* 670b21
Escribir en tiniebra es un mester pesado *SOria* 10
Contar las sus bondades serie grant regunçerio *Mil* 709
Offreçer pan e uino en el sancto altar
offrenda es autentica *Sac* 65

As Subject with ser and Adjective or Adverb

10. In this category the infinitive, which is really the subject of the form of *ser* employed, is subordinated to *ser* and its adjective or adverb, and in position as well as sense follows these. The two types found are *bien es yr* and *es bien yr*, in both of which the infinitive stands last.

Serie mal condempnarlo *Mil* 143
bien es ca' no es mal saber porque es esto respuesta natural *Sac* 284
mejor te es a ti los dineros tomar *Alix* 1244
en paz bien era tan grant tierra ganar *Alix* 1253
es bien atales omnes solitarios beuir *Alix* 1602
touo que era meior pedirles poco e yr todauia creçiendo que non pedilles mucho e auer depues a menguar *Cron* 35a27
lo meior . . . serie despenderlos en seruicio de Dios *Cron* 369b26
meior era prouar . . . la uoluntad del çielo *Cron* 687b12

As Subject with ser and a Substantive

11. Instead of *ser* and an adjective or adverb, *ser* with a substantive is quite common having an infinitive subject. The two types found are *es mala cosa lidiar* and *mala cosa es lidiar*, in which the sense of the infinitive is subordinated to that of the impersonal expression employed. Even so, there is more of a theoretical than real difference between these types and that of the pure infinitive subject in normal position: *lidiar es mala cosa*. The *de*-infinitive can appear for the pure construction in all these instances: *bien es de yr, mala cosa es de furtar*, etc.

> Mala cueta es, señores, aver mingua de pan
> fijos e mugieres veer los murir de fanbre *Cid* 1178
> serie grant exaramiello fablar de su bondat *Alix* 1541
> Non es nuestra costumbre thesoros condesar *Alex* 1769
> natura es del mundo deçender e sobir *Alix* 2192
> El tesoro de la glesia non serie derechura
> Darlo en malos usos en mala mercadura *SLaur* 37
> Una serie grant cosa dexar tan grant conviento *SMill* 373
> grant peligro era cutiano comulgar *Sac* 286
> serie luenga soga dezir las sus bondades *SDom* 93
> es tu privilegio valer al peccador *Mil* 866

Other examples of this construction occur in *SDom* 431; *Alix* 119, 1043; *Cron* 117b27, 143a7, 143b30, 189b26, 687a41, 687a44.

The substantive has a preposition in the following instances:

> como es de costumbre offreçer la mesnada *Sac* 67
> Serate, sancto padre, por grant yerro tenido
> Tu entrar en tal çena, yo fincar desffamnido *SLaur* 67

The subject-infinitive itself has a subject:

> . . . non serie buen derecho
> A vassallo ageno io buscar tal provecho *Mil* 739
> grieue cosa es dexar el omne lo que mucho a tomado eń costumbre *Cron* 73a13
> Serie grant daño tantas gentes morir *Alix* 2169

Por and *pora* with noun may take the place of the indirect object in constructions like *esme cosa pessada Refrescar las mis penas*, Duelo 13:

(*por*) seria fiera onta e grant mal paresçer
por el Rey Alixandre a omne obedeçer *Alix* 26
(*pora*) Non es honrra nin presçio pora omne honrrado
meterse a aventura en lugar desaguisado *Alix* 2257

As Subject with Impersonal Verbs

12. Meyer-Lübke gives a concise account of the impersonal verbs with infinitive as subject, in which he says:[1]

Dans les cas où l'infinitif équivaut à un pur substantif, son emploi comme sujet ne réclame aucun examen spécial. Cependant, lorsqu'il est uni à des verbes ou des locutions unipersonnels, bien qu'il remplisse la fonction d'auteur de l'action, il apparaît encore souvent avec une valeur presqu'entièrement verbale; ce sont des cas auxquels il est nécessaire de s'arrêter un instant. La règle fondamentale est celle-ci: l'infinitif n'est employé que s'il n'a lui-même aucun sujet déterminé ou bien si ce sujet est exprimé avec le verbe personnel comme régime indirect.

It will be found that these conditions are fulfilled in the citations that follow: *nos conviene fablar*, *non lis cala fazerlo*, etc. The same verb may be treated both as an impersonal (or rather as an unipersonal verb, as Meyer-Lübke calls it), and as a personal verb. Such an instance is found in *conuenir*, where evidently the precedence of the object caused a shift in the verb form: *en otras lazerias quales conuenien sofrir a los que en tal fecho estan*, Cron 746a18. Sometimes, as with *pertenescer*, a slightly different turn is given to the sense by the use of a preposition, in which case the verb usually becomes personal (as *de* is the only preposition adapting itself readily to use with the infinitive as subject): *nos non pertenescie estar casados*, Cron 620b23, but *no pertenesçien ellas pora seer nuestras mugeres*, Cron 620b14, noted on the same page as the impersonal construction.

[1] *Gram.* III, § 339.

The examples cited by Meyer-Lübke [1] for the Spanish contain the impersonals *parece, acontece, es forzoso, es posible.* The two latter are interesting as members of a group that is as large as the individual scholar desires, since there is an almost unlimited number of adjectives that can be combined with the third person of *ser* to take either the infinitive or subjunctive, especially in the modern language, where the vocabulary and the variety of nuances of expression have been much enriched. Diez [2] gives a much larger list of impersonal verbs and locutions, though his work applies more to the modern period than to that of our texts: *basta, cale, conviene, cumple, importa, parece, toca, vale, no hay, á uno está,* etc. It is interesting to note that in the early texts there are more impersonal verbs and expressions taking *de* with the infinitive-subject than those taking the pure construction. As said before, though this delicately intrusive *de* (of *relation*) was not as logical as the pure infinitive, still it gradually came to be used with more and more verbs, the infinitive acting either as subject or as object, until it had surpassed its more logical rival. The following verbs appear with pure and *de*-infinitive subject: *abondar, caer, convenir, pertenescer, plazer.* A group which is very numerous under the *de*-infinitive and is not represented here at all, is the *venir* group: *Vinoli en coraçon de andar,* etc. Various individual verbs like *complir, parescer,* etc., are also confined to the *de* class, while others equally notable, such as *valer,* etc., are limited to the pure construction. There is doubtless a considerable amount of chance in this fact, both in the matter of the texts available for study, and in the absence of examples of phenomena that must have existed.[3]

abondar.

The *de*-infinitive also occurs with *abondar.*

non les abondo partir se ellos dell imperio obedecer *Cron* 168a20
no les abondo deffender su tierra *Cron* 168b5

[1] *Gram.* III, § 339. [2] *Gram.* III, p. 203.

[3] For a discussion of impersonal constructions in French, see Kjellman, *La construction de l'infinitif dépendant d'une locution impersonelle en français, etc.*

caer.

The *de*-infinitive is also found.

tu saues en que caye captiuos redemjr *SDom* 362
ca cumplir tales cosas en debdo li caya *SDom* 481

caler.

Non lis cala demanana façer otros labores *Duelo* 175

convenir.

This verb also takes *de* and *a* with the infinitive.

En el terçero signo nos conviene fablar *Sig* 8
otro conseio te conviene prender *Mil* 645
Convienenos un poco la materia cambiar *SDom* 186
El obispo que esso auie de ministrar
non conviene sin sangne quel rancon entrar *Sac* 91

doler.

nol dolie fer mision *Alix* 388

enchir.

non uos incal tomar ganancias *Cron* 438a41

oluidarse (see *oluidarse* with *de*, p. 117).

Non seli olujdaua orar por los passados *SDom* 79

pertenescer.

The infinitives with *de* and *a* are also noted with *pertenescer*.

nos non pertenescie estar casados con fijas de tal omne *Cron* 620b23

plazer.

The *de*-infinitive is also found with *plazer*.

plaze me yr ala casa enna qual ella posa *SDom* 103

semeiar (-jar).

The *de*-infinitive is also found with *semeiar*.

Aun non me semeia con esto me alçar *SDom* 387
me semeia razon . . . Descobrir la razon *SMill* 365
Semejaua onta pora sy lo dexar *Alix* 523
mal nos semeja buscar cosas atales *Alix* 2250

ser uebos.

Nunqua lis era uebos buscar otra mengia *SMill* 339

uagar (v-).

non uagaua a los de dentro fartar se de los fuelgos *Cron* 288a22

. . . tanto que les non vage las espaldas tornar *Alix* 80

valer (u-).

Valer only takes the pure infinitive.

val aDios seruir *SDom* 560

Mas val con sendos oios salvar vuestros peccados,
Que con los dos veervos en infierno damnados *SMill* 276

si as a enflaqueçer, mas te valdrie peresçer *Alix* 77

mas me valdrie seyer muerto e soterrado *Alix* 655

Mas mays les ualiera en su tierra seer *Alex* 1201

valiera seles mas en sus tiendas seyer *Alix* 1341

mas nos valdrie morir *Alix* 2613

mas ualdrie ficar *Cron* 15a15

mas ualdrie atender le todel poder de Roma en uno que no partidos *Cron* 19a6

mas ualdrie auenturarse e lidiar con el, que no pechar est auer *Cron* 25b44

mas ual morir que uer este astragamiento en nuestra tierra *Cron* 500a18

The almost universal use of *valer* in comparative sentences is to be seen in the above examples. Also the occasional use of the intrusive *non* after the comparative *que* is found, especially in the *Crónica* (*mas ualie pechar et dar de lo que ouiessen et saluar lo al, que non perder los cuerpos et quanto auien*, Cron 495b42).

The Infinitive as a Predicate Noun

13. With *ser*[1] the infinitive may stand as a predicate noun in relation to the subject. This subject may be a substantive, a pronoun, or another infinitive. No examples of the first type are noted in our texts, but the second and third are by no means rare. It will be seen that sometimes the pronoun sums up a whole clause preceding, and the syntactical relation would become quite different, though the sense would remain

[1] See Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 253.

the same, if the pronoun were omitted: *la onrra del silençio, esto es callar et non fablar*, Cron 680a44. The reason that these predicate uses can be included under the pure verbal infinitive is that more activity is postulated than in ordinary substantive-infinitive uses, and there are no ordinary accompaniments of the substantive such as the articles or adjectives.

The subject is a pronoun:

esto es dotar eglesia fascas darle arras como a esposa de Cristo *Cron* 540b6
morredes en Cristo, que es ueuir, ca non morir *Cron* 662a36
la onrra del silençio, esto es callar et non fablar *Cron* 680a44
aquello non era foyr, mas yr adelant *Cron* 699a23
aquello que todo fijo dalgo deue conplir, et esto es: fazer derecho, et perder miedo alli do lo deue omne perder *Cron* 738b2

The subject is an infinitive:

cuydar non es saber *Alix* 1728
imperare es estar apareiado . . . *Cron* 90b22
affogar omne sus fijos es dalles de pequennos et assoora grandes sennorios *Cron* 145b43
profession fazer el frayre, es renunçiar el mundo *Cron* 692a3
ca dezir de la lengua de manos non laurar, esso es flor sin frucho, prometer e non dar *Sac* 181

Of course the infinitive treated as a real substantive occurs in the predicate noun position:

seria fiera onta e grant mal paresçer
por el Rey Alixandre a omne obedeçer *Alix* 26

THE PURE INFINITIVE AS OBJECT

The Modal Auxiliaries

14. Under this group will be treated *auer*, *deuer*, *poder*, *querer*, *saber*, *soler*, all with pure infinitive. A few exceptions are noted to the pure construction and these will be commented on under the individual verbs. In general, however, it is evidently true that there is no reason for a preposition

with these verbs; on the contrary, the presence of a preposition detracts from that perfect unity between infinitive and finite verb that has caused this group to be called the modal auxiliaries, i.e., aids in inflection of the verb put in the infinitive form. The preposition *a* never lost some portion of its place value, and the preposition *de*, though it became exceedingly weak at times, was never quite negligible in the sense of a phrase. The pure infinitive alone could accurately serve as object, and in these instances where the unity was so close that in one case at least the two parts were thought of and written as one (*auer* with infinitive giving the future: e.g., *dar e*), the use of a preposition with the infinitive was more antagonistic to the construction involved than in any ordinary object relation, such as *començar* with its infinitive. The auxiliaries, through continued and frequent use, came to express shades of thought not brought out in the ordinary conjugation of the verb. Thus *deuer* in some cases might weaken to an approximation of the future use; *querer* did not always express a wish as such, but developed a series of delicate related senses; *saber* and *poder* had points of contact in use, while *soler* and the imperfect indicative showed different degrees of definiteness of concept that might merge into each other. It was natural that the emphasis should fall more and more on the infinitive rather than on the finite verb, since the infinitive expressed the specific activity needed in the individual sentence, while the finite verb expressed only a general activity common to all.[1] It was only a matter of time until the auxiliaries came to lose nearly all their power of acting alone, and had to have another verb to form a predicate for them. One of the proofs of this close relation of finite verb and infinitive object is found in the existence of such constructions as *volo habere cantatum* standing for *habeo volutum cantare*, where the auxiliary is so weak that the sign of the perfect has gone over to the infinitive. Examples of this (*lo querria auer fecho*) will be cited under the various verbs concerned.

[1] Lachmund, *Inf. im Altfranz.*, p. 10.

The modal auxiliaries, as might be guessed from the above, offer the most abundant examples of the verbs taking the infinitive object. By far the most common of all is of course *auer* with infinitive in the regular future sense. *Querer* and *poder* come next in the favor of our authors. The fact that each of these appears several hundred times in the *Alixandre* and proportionately in other texts, is interesting only as showing the almost continual use of these aids by good authors, and the fact that they must have become very weak indeed to be tolerated so often. No verb retaining its full sense could be used so many times in a poem without destroying its beauty. *Deuer* and *saber* are only about one-half as frequent as *querer* and *poder*, while *soler*, with 70 occurrences, seems almost rare by comparison.

The lists of aids in inflection given by Diez, Meyer-Lübke, and Menéndez Pidal differ each from the other. Diez includes *querer, deber, poder, saber, osar, soler,* of which I omit *osar* in my classification; Meyer-Lübke gives *querer, poder, saber, deber, soler, dejar, hacer,* thus retaining the two causative verbs *dejar* and *hacer;* Menéndez Pidal chooses even a more generous list, *querer, gradar, dever, poder, saber, osar, treverse, soler.* This shows that any grouping is necessarily flexible, and chosen for convenience as much as accuracy. Individual verbs appear to one scholar as aids in inflection that to another are no more such aids than any verb in close relation with its infinitive object. My own list includes rather a minimum than a maximum of such possible verbs.

auer.

The union of the infinitive with the present and imperfect indicative of *auer* formed the customary future and conditional of Old Spanish in the same way as in other parts of the Romance field (in Italy the Classical perfect *habui* was used instead of the imperfect *habebam*). Little can be added to the knowledge of this phenomenon since it is one part of the syntax of the

Romance tongues that received prompt and thorough attention at the hands of various students.[1]

Hanssen states[2] that there were three possible ways of joining the infinitive with the form of *habere* (*auer*): *dar e yo*, *yo dar e*, and *yo e dar*. Old Spanish, Old Provençal, and Portuguese show a more primitive condition of these component parts than do other Romance tongues. From very early times the merging of the infinitive and the form of *habere* occurred in Italy and North France, but in Spain, etc., this unity was evidently not felt, as the two parts are found separated by a pronoun object (*ver lo he*). This will be discussed a little later. The third form of the combination of these elements (*yo e dar*), mentioned by Hanssen above, he finds still existing in Galicia and Portugal. In Old Spanish, however, although this form was used, it had a little more than ordinary future sense. There had been present in Vulgar Latin the two senses of *possibility* and *necessity* in the infinitive with *habere*, and in the Romance future the element of *necessity* was of course non-existent, the element of *possibility* having developed here. The sense of *necessity* was kept in the same construction, but generally when a preposition was used with the infinitive (*Maguer les pesa, ovieron se a dar e a arrancar*, Cid 1145). Later *auer de* supplanted *auer a* in this use, though at the period covered by this study *auer a* was considerably the more frequent. The preposition was not always employed when the sense of *necessity* was desired, however, and in these texts it is by no means rare to find form three (*yo e dar*) in the perifrastic sense. No other order is found than this, and doubtless the sense of *necessity* predominates when this order is used, though different degrees are to be felt in the examples, varying from little more than simple *futurity* to actual *necessity*. All examples of *auer* preceding

[1] Information concerning the development of the Romance future can be found in Thielmann, *Arch.* II, 48; Grandgent, 56; Cornu in *Fil. e Lin.* Firenze, 1886, p. 217; Bello, 689; Cejador I, 249; Tobler, II, 150; Hanssen, § 575; Diez, *Gram.* II, p. 108, and III, p. 257; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* II, § 112, and III, § 319.

[2] *Gram. Hist. Esp.*, § 575.

the infinitive are given below. Concerning the possibility of absorption of the preposition *a* by *a* preceding or following (*ouieron aplegar*, Alix 1276), see *auer a*, § 45. In such instances as *Ovose de las cuevas . . . arrancar*, SMill 46, and *ouo assacar*, Cron 112b34, *a* may be separable from the simple verb. If not, consciousness of the incorporation of *a* in the infinitive may well have militated against its repetition immediately before that form.

los que han lidiar *Cid* 3523
Ante que lo ouiase Diomedes colpar *Alix* 528
ouieron syn grado las espaldas tornar *Alix* 537
Ouierote toda via mostrar vna cordura *Alix* 1138
ovo toda la obra por ende yr a mal *Alix* 1489
Los que . . . han alimosna pedir *Alix* 1596
Ouierante tus vasallos matar a trayçion *Alix* 1668
Aurias a mi señero por señor catar *Alix* 1759
Avremos . . . la cosa destajar *Alix* 2045
En la primera muepta ouieron se aguardar *Alix* 2162
tanto ouieron atender e buscar *Alix* 2224
ouo el sancto Padre sentir unas atales *SDom* 490
Si oviesse mas un poco y estar *SOria* 157
Porque en tal periglo nos aves a uviar,
Por el tu guyonage avemos arrivar,
Et de aquellas ondas tan fuertes escapar *Loor* 197
Mucho de mayor preçio a seer el tu manto *SLaur* 70
Commo qui en mal anda, en mal a caer,
Ovieronlo con furto est ladron a prender *Mil* 146
Ovo del pleito todo venir deconnoçido *Mil* 696
quando Coymbria auie seer presa *Cron* 487b47
o auie seer *Cron* 625b27

Menéndez Pidal remarks in this connection that "*auer* expresa la necesidad, rigiendo al infinitivo ora con *de*, ora con *á*. La preposición falta rara vez, acaso sólo en: *los que han lidiar*, Cid 3523. El pretérito, rigiendo á un infinitivo con *de* ó *á*, expresa no la necesidad, sino un acaecimiento subsiguiente ó futuro respecto al tiempo pretérito de una narración." [1] Evi-

[1] *Cid* I, § 161.

dently, then, there is a difference between the preterit of this construction and the other tenses. This is found to be prevailingly true, inasmuch as in the above examples instances of the preterit show little *necessity*, often a mere *subsequent* event, as noted by Menéndez Pidal. But a purely formal statement cutting off the preterit would be misleading, because the individual examples in other tenses show a varying degree of *necessity*, and sometimes quite as much the absence of that element as in the preterit. *SLaur* 70: *Mucho de mayor preçio a seer el tu manto* shows a minimum of *necessity*, and a maximum of *futurity*. The same might be said of *Cron* 487b47: *quando Coymbria auie seer presa*, and of *Commo qui en mal anda, en mal a caer*, Mil 146, where the element of *futurity* is strong. It is difficult to prove much concerning the pure infinitive in these tenses because of the small number of examples, the prepositional construction so largely predominating.

When Menéndez Pidal states that there is no *necessity* in the preterit, but merely a *subsequent* fact, he is stating the principle for the prepositional infinitive with *auer*. However, it is shown under *auer a* that this is not true for the prepositional infinitive, instances being found showing *necessity* as clearly as in any other tense. If the principle were true for the infinitive with prepositions, it would probably hold for the pure infinitive in this construction, since one of the most important facts noted in this study of the *auer* construction is that no dividing line can be drawn between the cases with preposition and those without. For instance, *ouo todos los pleitos la dueña a saber*, Alix 382, and *Ovo del pleito todo venir deconnoçido*, Mil 696, show decided similarity in the connotation of the infinitive constructions. There is the same sense of *subsequence* in the locution in both cases. This argument might be developed much further, but without profit. The main difference between the pure and the prepositional infinitive at this time is that the pure form (the original construction) is quite rare except in the regular future sense, while the prepositional infinitive, especially that with *a*, is extremely common. As

to the element of *necessity*, it can be felt in various instances in the preterit, whether there is preposition or not. Often it can be felt but not proved: And it is not to be expected that it could very often be definitely proved considering the delicacy of the sentiment involved, and its easy merging into the sense called above *subsequent*. Most instances can be construed with or without *necessity* in the preterit, but some naturally imply it, e.g., *ouieron syn grado las espaldas tornar*, Alix 537, where there can be no doubt as to the *necessity*. Also *tanto ouieron atender e buscar*, Alix 2224, and *Ovose de las cuevas por esso arrancar*, SMill 46, most fittingly take a sense of *necessity* as against simple *subsequence*. A few cases of the prepositional use having *necessity* are interesting for comparison with those above: *maguer les pesa, oviéronse a dar e a arrancar*, Cid 1145; *ovieronle syn grado el canpo a dexar*, Alix 654; *ouieron a tollerse del portillo syn grado*, Alix 214. Without *necessity*, but with preposition, are noted among numerous others: *ouolo a vençer*, Alix 166; *ouo el arbol a fallar*, Alix 311; *ouieron a veyer*, Alix 389.

Concerning the first method of combining the infinitive with the auxiliary, as mentioned by Hanssen (*dar e yo*), in the regular future sense, the most important fact is that the combining parts could be separated by one or more pronoun objects (*ver lo he, dar gelo he*, etc.). The examples of this so-called *split future* are quite numerous in Old Spanish, offering abundant material for study of the phenomenon. The facts are, however, very simple. Such separation of the auxiliary and the infinitive was customary in our texts when a pronoun object was present. It was not obligatory, however, as evidenced by *Cid* 1310: *Dexarévos las posadas*, and *SOria* 136: *veráste*. The separation caused no change in the sense involved, as shown by the fact that the future, united and split, could present its forms side by side in equivalent function and sense: *non nos daran dent* (*nada*); *la paria . . . tornar nos la ha doblada*, Cid 586. Also *Cid* 1438: *dexaremos Burgos, ir lo hemos buscar* and *hir los hemos fferir, non passará por al*, Cid 1690. Examples of the *split future* in our texts are:

el rey querer me ha por amigo *Cid* 76
doblar vos he la soldada *Cid* 80
fer lo he amidos *Cid* 84
enpeñar gelo he *Cid* 92
dexar las ha en vuestra mano *Cid* 117
pedir vos a poco por dexar so aver en salvo *Cid* 133
dar gelos hemos de grado *Cid* 136
mereçer no' lo hedes *Cid* 197
atorgar nos hedes esto *Cid* 198
castigar los he commo abrán a far *Cid* 229
seervos han doblados *Cid* 251
partir nos hemos *Cid* 272
poder nos han alcançar *Cid* 390
tornar nos la ha doblada *Cid* 586
exir nos ha el pan *Cid* 667
tener la edes sin arth *Cid* 690
dezir vos he la verdad *Cid* 947
ir gelo he yo demandar *Cid* 966
dar nos ha grant batalla *Cid* 987
quitarvos he los cuerpos e darvos e de mano *Cid* 1035b
dar vos he de mano *Cid* 1040
ir nos hemos pagando *Cid* 1046
auerlohan por ello muchos a conoçer *Alix* 3
auer me ha como fijo la mano a besar *Alix* 25
echarteha en lugar onde, fijo, dios te defienda *Alix* 54
Cambiar se a la uentura *Alex* 74
fallarte as bien en ello *Alix* 353
auerteha a querer *Alix* 377
fertea dios caridat *Alix* 379
averteha a nozir *Alix* 781
dexaruos han el canpo *Alix* 932
auer les han despecho *Alix* 1431
Descobriruos he el renglon *Alex* 1794
yr lo as ensayando *Alix* 2279
tollernos ha las almas *Alix* 2420
fer lo ha volenter *Alix* 2427
yr se nos ha aguisando . . . la yantar *Alix* 2512
fer uos he syn los oios *SDom* 143
enujar uos lo emos *SDom* 365
saber uos an meior *SDom* 385

dezir uos an mjl pares de tales *SDom* 386
ir uos las e contando *Sac* 179
Aplanarse an las sierras *Sig* 16
Abrirse an las fuessas *Sig* 18
Oyrlo an los muertos *Sig* 22
Tornarse a los justos ha el Rey glorioso *Sig* 27
Façerlis a un sermon *Sig* 27
Deçirles a *Sig* 31

It is not uncommon to have contracted forms in this *split future*, as in *Cron* 41a23: *antoiar se ta*, where the *e* of *te* has disappeared; in *Cron* 43b44, *fazellas* is equivalent to *fazer lo as*, and in *Cron* 73b32, *pedir ledes* to *pedir le hedes*. Probably the most current contraction is formed with the first person singular present indicative of *auer*, where the *e* of *me, te, le*, is absorbed by the *e* of *he* (*h* not regularly written): *Mostrarte los tesoros*, SLaur 94; *dexar mê morir*, Cid 1029; *Dezirte*, Alix 1979; *Darte yo casamiento*, Alix 370; *darle mis medeçinas*, Alix 380; *Darté*, Mil 641; *Acreërté*, Mil 644; *Mostrarté*, Mil 648; *ferté*, Mil 689. Not always, however, is this absorption found: *fertehe a mis rrapazes prender e enforcar*, Alix 766.

Examples of the *split future* for possible reference are: *Cid* 280, 1423, 1438, 1447, 1487, 1523, 1641, 1668, 1688, 1690, 1768, 1808, 1820, 1908, 2045, 2330, 2366, 2410, 2411, 2481, 2546, 2563, 2564, 2568, 2575, 2627, 2733, 2992, 3141, 3168, 3223, 3359, 3389, 3411, 3450, 3451; *Alix* 225, 752, 764, 791, 798, 902, 903, 932, 966, 1039, 1243, 1247, 1601, 1649, 1711, 1862, 1992, 2069, 2229, 2420, 2608, 2620; *Loor* 169, 172, 175, 181, 218; *SLaur* 11, 36, 76, 86, 94; *Sig* 36, 37, 39, 40, 44, 46, 70; *Mil* 137, 248, 484, 625, 641, 644, 648, 689, 739, 841, 885; *Cron* 401a10, 402b19, 403b15, 404b40, 415a29, 416b23, 416b33, 417b38, 421a18, 428a40, 428a41, 433b46, 434a12, 435a3, 435a6, 435a9, 435a10, 435b34, 436a21, 438a8, 440b34, 442b12, 442b14, 442b15, 442b21, 442b23, etc.

The conditional presents in general the same situation as the future in regard to the separation of the infinitive and the auxiliary (with the imperfect indicative instead of the present).

The instances of it are considerably less frequent than those of the future, but are by no means rare. Contractions are also found in the forms of the conditional even more than in those of the future, and absorption of one of two vowels coming together is noted, e.g., *Semeiar mie*, Sac 157; *poder sie perder Carthago*, Cron 46a30; *darlye mala fiesta*, Alix 1113. Examples of the *split* conditional are:

Conbidar le ien de grado *Cid* 21
dar le ien seysçientos marcos *Cid* 161
buscar nos ie el rey Alfonsso *Cid* 528
aver vos lo iedes de far *Cid* 678
fer lo ien de grado *Cid* 1250
querer vos ye veer e darvos su amor *Cid* 1945
acordar vos yedes despues *Cid* 1946
aver la yemos nos *Cid* 2663
encarnarseyan en nos *Alix* 724
darleyen vagar *Alix* 724
yrseyan a la çibdat *Alix* 726
yrlesyen los de dentro a fuera rrefiriendo *Alix* 726
fersie de su locura mucho marauillado *Alix* 828
gradeçerteloya *Alix* 1042
prender los ya la noche, fer los ya derramar *Alix* 1279
fersenosyan lenguados *Alix* 1304
si non fer se nos ye mucho grant la iornada *Sac* 136
querermia partir *Cron* 33b38
auella yen *Cron* 45a33
tornar se les ye *Cron* 45a38
dar se ye *Cron* 65b41
combater le yen et quexarle *Cron* 83b22

The last citation is particularly interesting as showing that the infinitive and the auxiliary were thought of as separate entities, since here the second infinitive is allowed to stand alone, with one *yen* doing duty for both *combater* and *quexar*.

deuer.

There is no perceptible change of meaning when the preposition *a* is used in the few cases in the *Crónica* in which *deuer* appears without the pure infinitive. For instance, in *deuemos*

nos a temer, we have a slightly emphatic equivalent of *deuemos temer*. There seems to be no trace of *deuer de* in the early texts, although by the time of Cervantes it was not uncommon. Grammarians say that *deuer* with pure infinitive denotes duty and necessity, while with *de* it denotes rather probability.

The use of the tenses of *deuer* in Old Spanish is found to be far from fixed. The present has the variety of meanings common in French, from *duty* and *necessity* in such cases as *devemos vençer*, Cid 995, to the weakened *necessity* approaching *futurity* of *tu deues esta cosa iuzgar*, SDom 425, and the *futurity* or *probability* in *deues . . . tu auer pagamiento* Alix 1243. This tense is the one most commonly used, and frequently makes the action of the verb more realistic in places where other tenses, such as the imperfect or conditional, would be more logical.

Examples of the present tense of *deuer* with dependent infinitive will be found in the *Cid* 315, 1107, 1457, 3363; *Alix* 35, 38, 43, 65, 77, 79, 120, 222, 239, 277, 327, 352, 357, 358, 359, 454, 477, 658, 749, 770, 772, 776, 827, 931, 1140, 1206, 1210, 1243, 1254, 1313, 1314, 1323, 1348, 1422, 1425, 1641, 1652, 1677, 1689, 1792, 1829, 1865, 2232, 2254, 2270, 2308, 2347, 2365, 2369, 2372, 2375, 2401, 2416, 2421, 2487, 2562, 2563, 2634, 2635, 2637; *SOria* 89, 153; *Mil* 74, 121, 141, 158, 201, 262, 280, 351, 430, 451, 541, 542, 543, 559, 562, 786, 791, 845, 859, 868; *Sac* 37, 46, 47, 48, 66, 70, 99, 118, 119, 170, 172, 174, 175, 181, 190, 226, 250, 251, 260, 264, 284, 290, 291; *SDom* 102, 139, 145, 252, 287, 311, 312, 313, 315, 335, 425, 462, 613, 644, 658, 719, 756, 777; *Loor* 17, 44, 69, 104, 112, 119, 135, 155, 182, etc.

The imperfect denotes weakened *necessity* in cases like *deuien pereçer*, Sac 242. This type is common to all the texts with the exception of the *Cid*. This poem shows the use of *deuer* sparingly in all meanings, yielding only seven passages with *deuer* in the whole 3700 lines, a somewhat remarkable fact, considering its frequent repetition of many infinitive constructions.

Examples of the imperfect of *deuer* denoting weakened *necessity:*

asy deuien moryr *Alix* 171
non los deuie guaryr *Alix* 171
deuie auer tal cabo *Alix* 216
Mas el engannador lo debie padeçer *Mil* 207
Cada uno en su trono en que debia juzgar *SOria* 86
nol deuja ualer *SDom* 740

The imperfect is also found in places where the conditional would be more logical. In all the texts except the *Alixandre* the conditional is decidedly rare. Examples of the imperfect for the conditional:

debiamos todos aver ende pavura *Sig* 67
non fablas como deujas fablar *SDom* 311
deuia seer scripto *SDom* 441
deuja seer metida en arca mas preçiosa *SDom* 673
Non las deviemos tomar por varraganas *Cid* 2759
non gelas devién querer sus fijas por varraganas *Cid* 3276
deviemos casar con fijas de reyes o de enperadores *Cid* 3297
deuie seer mejor *Alix* 268

Other examples of the imperfect of *deuer: Alix* 171, 208, 223, 277, 581, 876, 1044, 1097, 1115, 1350, 1417, 1602, 1652, 1707, 1721, 1761, 1790, 1840, 2188, 2194, 2239, 2299, 2564, 2578, 2619, 2631; *Duelo* 125, 128, 146; *Loor* 115, 173, 174; *SOria* 24, 86; *Mil* 207, 398, 511, 528, 547, 548, 549, 786, 901; *SLaur* 38, 74; *SMill* 25, 40, 267, 396, 468, 469.

Berceo only uses the conditional (excluding the *Alixandre*) in the following passages, and it is to be noted that three cases occur in practically one passage, i.e., the use of the conditional in the first passage probably caused the use of the next two.

Non me devries agora, padre, desemparar *SLaur* 65
devriesme perdonar *SLaur* 66
Non devries al tu siervo tal ira condesar *SLaur* 66
Debrie andar devoto e andaba lozano *Mil* 162
debriemos escribilla *Mil* 215
Debriame lo misme con mis manos matar *Mil* 760

The conditional appears more frequently in the *Alixandre* than in the other poetical works:

deurie auer toda mala ventura *Alix* 371
deurien vençer vn mundo sola ment a dientes *Alix* 806
Nunca en esti mundo deurie omne fiar *Alix* 980

Also *Alix* 982, 1184, 1210, 1241, 1242, 1482, 1597, 1628, 1675, 1784, 1788, 1809, 1836, 1908, 2396, 2508, 2574.

The conditional is used with the passive infinitive in:

deurie seyer contado *Alix* 1411
deurie jazerençerrado *Alix* 2090
Debria ser servido con grant devoçion *Loor* 74

The preterit occurs once in *Loor* 98:

por mi feçiste tanto que mas fer non debiste

poder.

Little comment need be made on this most popular of verbs, as the syntax is simple and regular. Occurrences will be noted under the tenses found in the texts. The *Cid*, *Santo Domingo*, and the *Sacrificio* are represented in the list as well as the *Alixandre* as far as stanza 1000. The references are given because of any possible interest attaching to them in connection with other subjects, though they have no importance in the present study.

(pres. ind.) *Cid* 91, 116, 423, 516, 542, 546, 555, 633, 713, 830, 948, 984, 1030, 1032, 1177, 1180, 1304, 1388, 1636, 1782, 2007, 2058, 2617, 2747, 2784, 2913, 3126, 3172, 3183, 3254, 3257, 3307, 3358, 3468, 3529; *SDom* 47, 132, 150, 153, 154, 155, 171, 176, 202, 204, 287, 288, 337, 349, 362, 365, 384, 458, 570, 599, 658, 696, 712, 759; *Sac* 95, 118, 120, 263, 286; *Alix* 35, 43, 53, 63, 71, 133, 144, 193, 194, 219, 233, 234, 327, 330, 351, 358, 363, 374, 487, 506, 538, 623, 648, 658, 680, 741, 749, 753, 758, 982.

(impf. ind.) *Cid* 171, 1281; *SDom* 19, 46, 173, 185, 292, 294, 357, 410, 426, 506, 538, 539, 550, 568, 578, 591, 597, 606, 607, 676, 688, 726, 755; *Sac* 88, 121, 289; *Alix* 29, 174, 232, 286, 303, 321, 328, 340, 403, 404, 409, 411, 446, 474, 507, 521, 523,

532, 535, 537, 544, 561, 565, 566, 581, 603, 627, 673, 703, 705, 719, 731, 814, 829, 837, 942.

(pret.) *Cid* 704, 946, 1151, 1427, 1777, 3681; *SDom* 244, 250, 378, 439, 485, 516, 556, 589, 609, 640, 641; *Sac* 121, 124; *Alix* 16, 20, 150, 151, 154, 166, 167, 210, 219, 246, 311, 390, 403, 419, 446, 492, 507, 604, 606, 618, 624, 654, 704, 811, 816, 912, 981, 997, 1000.

(fut.) *Cid* 424, 619, 1468, 1524, 1640, 1869, 2360, 2542, 2553, 2867; *SDom* 33, 282; *Sac* 126, 233; *Alix* 35, 296, 336, 369, 374, 378, 874, 931.

(condtl.) *Cid* 310, 531, 699, 835, 1214, 1218, 1311, 1313; *SDom* 163, 170, 176, 186, 331, 341, 363, 384, 390, 406, 420, 506, 507, 537, 574, 756; *Sac* 65, 121, 170, 235, 260, 271, 287; *Alix* 1, 32, 33, 44, 104, 113, 393, 399, 409, 524, 557, 670, 708, 793, 815, 819, 824, 853, 857, 880, 922, 924, 925.

(pres. subj.) *Cid* 302, 2868; *SDom* 99, 180, 323, 576, 624, 763, 766; *Sac* 22, 70, 81, 248; *Alix* 24, 74, 120, 121, 154, 669, 966, 980.

(impf. subj.) *Cid* 309, 1250, 1253, 2377, 2662, 3540; *SDom* 53, 122, 342, 357, 363, 420, 431, 442, 485, 516, 765; *Sac* 167; *Alix* 38, 47, 94, 99, 110, 156, 165, 169, 246, 323, 395, 396, 472, 486, 529, 590, 605, 606, 704, 720, 724, 734, 815, 816, 848, 875, 881, 882, 982, 999.

(impf. subj. *pudiera* type) *SDom* 127; *Alix* 581, 826.

(fut. subj.) *Cid* 1466; *SDom* 365, 664; *Alix* 61, 76, 793.

(pres. partc.) *Cid* 2967.

querer.

When *quaerere* supplanted *volere* in the Spanish peninsula, it increased the variety of its uses and senses. Concerning *querer* in the *Cid*, Menéndez Pidal remarks:

> *querer* expresa naturalmente el deseo de hacer algo: *exir querien a batalla* 662, 1776, 3098, y negativo 538. De aquí pasó á indicar el comienzo de una acción, el sentido inceptivo: 'estar á punto de': *la noch querie entrar* 311, 231, 235, 367, 665, 696, 1143. La perífrasis sirve sólo para hacer más vehemente un ruego: *no lo quiera olbidar* 1444, y llega á ser casi perífrasis inútil.[1]

[1] *Cid* I, § 160.

This statement of the uses of *querer* with infinitive is found in general to be accurate, its only fault being that it does not take enough account of the delicate shades of sense lying between the points brought out so clearly. It is as impossible to tabulate the individual instances of *querer* and put them all in their respective classes as it is those of *auer a*, etc. It is easy to see the starting point of change in *querer* as well as in *auer a*, but after this point it is only the more glaring examples that let themselves be accurately judged. That *querer* did not express wish or desire on all occasions would be inferred from its very frequency in the texts considered. In the first 1550 stanzas of the *Alixandre* there are 300 instances of it, with approximately this proportion in other documents. The *inceptive* sense mentioned by Menéndez Pidal above (*to be on the point of, to be nearly*, etc.) is noted quite frequently. Probably numerous other instances than those cited by Menéndez Pidal or these following could be found in our texts, the only difficulty being to prove the presence of the *inceptive* sense rather than that of *wishing*. Theoretically, *desire* and *inception* may equally apply to all animate subjects. That is, in such instances as the first one cited by Menéndez Pidal (*exir querien a batalla*, Cid 662) and most others with personal subject, there is only the inaccurate evidence of the context to show whether *querer* indicates a *wish* or an *inception*. With impersonal or inanimate subject, the probabilities are clearly in favor of the *inceptive* sense. This is shown very well by these examples:

Quando de la grant nave quisse fuera salir,
Ca pareçie por oio que se querie somir *Mil* 607
Ia querie ser ora de maytines tañer,
la estrella del çielo queria paresçer *Alix* 1286
querie vn dia malo e negro amanasçer *Alix* 1286
el sol querie apuntar *Cid* 682
quiérel crebar el coraçón *Cid* 1660
tembrar querie la tierra *Cid* 3619
non a queria estar *SDom* 454

Other instances of the *inceptive* sense in *querer* follow

con la grant calentura del fuego que les ardie açerca, querien se perder de sed *Cron* 136a32
ya tenblaua la tapia, queria se acostar *Alix* 213
querie de calentura moryr toda la gent *Alix* 864
sintiosse tan flaco que entendio bien que querie morir *Cron* 137b38
El bueno de Minaya penssar quiere de caualgar *Cid* 1430p
el março quiere entrar *Cid* 1619

In *Hya quieren caualgar*, Cid 2591p[1], and in *SDom* 1.2, *Quiero fer una prosa*, there is probably more of *inception* than of *wish*, but the construction is indefinite in any event.

Menéndez Pidal also says that *querer* "sirve sólo para hacer más vehemente un ruego." Probably, also, in being less direct it was considered more polite, removing the objectionable force of the regular imperative form. It was so used in the *Santo Domingo* in addressing the king:

Rey, yo bien te conseio commo a tal sennor,
Non quieras toller nada al sancto confessor *SDom* 154

A parellel construction is seen in the French *veuillez* with dependent infinitive. Here the construction has become fixed as a form of polite address, while its use in Old Spanish was quite exceptional. When employed, it evidently conveyed more meaning than would appear in the French construction.

Compare also:

que non me quieras tan mucho segudar *SDom* 176
Date al guarir luego, non te quieras tardar *SDom* 724

Aside from this use the present subjunctive of *querer* is itself not very commonly employed. The future subjunctive is more in evidence than the present, and lends itself a little more easily to the sense that the present might have. I only note three examples of the present subjunctive of *querer* with infinitive object in the *Cid* while the future subjunctive is found in at least seven passages, about the same proportion holding in the other texts:

[1] Edición paleográfica.

(pres. subj.)

Antes . . . que el sol quiera rayar *Cid* 231
que nos queramos ir de noch no nos lo consintrán *Cid* 668
no lo quiera olbidar *Cid* 1444

(fut. subj.)

Si el rey me lo quisiere tomar *Cid* 230
El qui quisiere comer *Cid* 421
los que lo quisieren far *Cid* 891
si en estas tierras quisiéremos durar *Cid* 1120
Los que quisieren ir servir al Campeador *Cid* 1369
quien vos lo toller quisiere *Cid* 3520
qui tuerto quisiere fazer *Cid* 3601

When Menéndez Pidal says that "querer llega á ser casi perífrasis inútil," it is easy to know what he means, but hard to justify so broad a statement, especially when he cites no examples from the *Cid*. He remarks almost the same thing of *fazer*, *mandar*, *yr*, *tornar a* and *de*, when these verbs have dependent infinitive object. That is, all these locutions are said to become so weak as to give little or no meaning to a phrase other than would be given by the properly inflected form of the infinitive changed into a finite verb. There is much truth in this without doubt, since each of these locutions became a formula that diminished in strength almost in proportion to its frequency of use. But there always seems to be some remnant of the original sense left even when these locutions are at their weakest. In the case of *querer* it is easier to show such weakening than in *fazer*, etc., but even here, although the idea of *wishing* has allowed itself to be considerably changed and weakened, it cannot be thought a negligible factor in the sentence. One real weakening of *querer* is mentioned by Meyer-Lübke,[1] who states that it becomes sometimes a practical future. *Querer* and infinitive may be considered quite as logical a formation for the future idea as that which prevailed largely in the Romance territory, *auer* and infinitive. The difficulty here as elsewhere in dealing with fine shades of sense is to find examples

[1] *Gram.* III, § 322.

that conclusively show the phenomena that are known to exist. Thus it is impossible to accurately gauge the proportion of real *desire* and *futurity* that was intended in single instances of *querer*. It is possible, however, to find examples that permit more of *futurity* than of *desire* to be read into them. Thus in the *Cid* 2571, *hyo quiéroles dar axuvar tres mill marcos de valor*, *futurity* is more natural than *desire*, as is evidenced by the use of the regular future in other parts of the sentence, e.g. *darvos he dos espadas*, Cid 2575. Though either sense is possible in the following cases, *futurity* is more evident than *desire*:

enbiar la quiero a Alfonsso el Castellano *Cid* 1790
cometer quiero un ruego a mio Çid *Cid* 2073
no lo quiero fallir por nada de quanto ay parado *Cid* 2224
Hyo con los mios ferir los quiero delant *Cid* 2358
dárgelas queremos delant estando vos *Cid* 3174

Meyer-Lübke [1] states that *habeo volutum cantare* was replaced by *volo habere cantatum* (*querer* standing for *volere* in Spanish). In such cases the auxiliary has lost its original strength, and the infinitive, which to the speaker seems more important in the immediate phrase, has taken on the sign of the perfect. The construction is, however, rare in the texts considered. Only passages containing the conditional instead of the simple perfect are noted. A conspicuous example occurs in *Alix* 1156:

Ouiero Alixandre desti logar oydo,
ya lo querie auer de su grado veydo,
ya querie su ofrenda auer y ofresçido,
e aurie de su grado de aquesa agua beuido

Non lo querria por nada aver acometido *SMill* 270
no lo querrien aver fecho por quanto ha en Carrión *Cid* 3570
non querrien por grand cosa non seer y uenidos *SDom* 545

Meyer-Lübke [1] also suggests that in *SMill* 105, *querer* takes an infinitive object governed by *de*, and that therefore *querer* could be construed with *de* in Old Spanish in much the same way as *asmar de:*

[1] *Gram.* III, § 325.

Sennor, si tu quisiesses, yo mucho lo querria,
De vevir solitario commo vevir solia

This is hardly a normal example of *querer de*, however, since the infinitive is really in apposition with *lo*, and the infinitive in such apposition was used with or without *de*. This phenomenon is treated under the *Infinitive in Apposition* in § 79 of this study. One valid example of *querer de* does occur in *Cron* 450b37: *adolesçiose Dios de la yent, et quiso por su merçed de mostrar esta grand coyta por quien era.*

Instances of *querer* and infinitive occur as follows:

(pres. ind.) *Cid* 85, 194, 235, 252, 314, 367, 529, 533, 534, 813, 816, 890, 899, 1020, 1029, 1143, 1189, 1191, 1192, 1198, 1257, 1271, 1274, 1298, 1299, 1310, 1416, 1430, 1506, 1619, 1620, 1649, 1660, 1765, 1776, 1790, 1879, 1886, 1888, 1913, 2073, 2115, 2120, 2130, 2224, 2260, 2358, 2374, 2379, 2414, 2571, 2591, 2711, 3026, 3078, 3098, 3174, 3233, 3388, 3507, 3535; *Sac* 2, 39, 62, 73, 85, 94, 108, 118, 126, 136, 163, 174, 183, 196, 263, 290, 293, 296; *SDom* 1, 2, 101, 103, 112, 133, 136, 143, 148, 180, 201, 228, 261, 289, 312, 321, 337, 352, 387, 487, 518, 533, 536, 581, 613, 636, 644, 683, 684, 695, 696, 721, 732, 759, 775; *Alix* 1, 4, 5, 14, 50, 55, 60, 63, 80, 98, 104, 105, 126, 132, 144, 148, 194, 232, 286, 290, 330, 349, 351, 359, 363, 366, 375, 403, 416, 455, 622, 637, 700, 732, 777, 781, 782, 793, 887, 904, 926, 933.

(impf. ind.) *Cid* 36, 311, 429, 662, 665, 682, 696, 1577, 3000, 3619; *Sac* 4, 111, 125, 244; *SDom* 13, 16, 39, 88, 187, 251, 421, 422, 454, 514; *Alix* 27, 36, 123, 126, 165, 173, 197, 201, 210, 213, 246, 252, 304, 390, 411, 427, 490, 518, 572, 600, 603, 675, 789, 805, 822, 829, 858, 864, 892, 939, 988.

(pret.) *Cid* 265, 517, 851, 1202, 1693, 2850, 2898, 3044, 3112, 3157; *Sac* 51, 65, 74, 218, 220, 242, 293, 296; *SDom* 19, 53, 54, 62, 112, 119, 163, 219, 225, 253, 289, 304, 311, 340, 370, 416, 428, 498, 559, 560, 570, 607, 613, 645, 767, 769; *Alix* 7, 88, 118, 119, 126, 174, 182, 185, 196, 200, 227, 402, 411, 472, 508, 521, 554, 564, 565, 606, 623, 625, 653, 719, 741, 779, 809, 887, 889, 892, 897, 912, 915, 933, 976.

(fut. ind.) *Cid* 133; *Alix* 349, 380, 954.

(condtl.) *Cid* 104, 538, 2373, 2376, 3433, 3570; *Sac* 1, 70, 145; *SDom* 21, 73, 91, 175, 222, 238, 250, 294, 315, 317, 318, 335, 404, 545, 629, 697, 759; *Alix* 1, 26, 419, 454, 467, 537, 575, 634, 704, 768, 803, 881, 893, 931, 933, 938.

(pres. subj.) *Cid* 231, 668, 1444; *SDom* 154, 176, 724; *Alix* 58, 142, 374, 947.

(impf. subj.) *Cid* 2994; *Sac* 63; *SDom* 88, 91, 376, 391, 735; *Alix* 141, 419, 441, 505, 637, 638.

(fut. subj.) *Cid* 230, 421, 891, 1120, 1369, 3520, 3600; *Sac* 181, 233, 260; *SDom* 53, 96, 155, 246, 282, 315, 386, 499; *Alix* 3, 52, 61, 63, 74, 98, 194, 240, 336, 408, 648, 749, 764, 766, 909.

(pres. partc.) *SDom* 107.

saber.

The divergence and confluence in meaning of *saber* and *poder* in sense and treatment will be seen in the examples following:

Sabiense rrica ment guardar e encobryr,
por ninguna manera non se podien feryr *Alix* 521

tan bien se sabien amos guardar e encobrir,
por ninguna manera non se podien nozir *Alix* 565

supoli bien Patruculo el colpe desechar,
nol pudo de la punta en derecho tomar *Alix* 624

Etor, maguer veye que non podie guarir,
el su grant coraçon non lo sabie enflaquir *Alix* 673

Avn, mager pudiesemos a la tierra tornar . . .
vasallos syn señor saben se mal guardar *Alix* 875

Nunca en esti mundo deurie omne fiar
que sabe a los omnes tan mala çaga dar,
sabe a sus amigos poner en mal lugar
por que peor los pueda en cabo quebrantar *Alix* 980

Tan bien e tan apuesto sabie duelo fazer
que non podien los otros las lagremas tener *Alix* 1217

Supoli bien el otro el pleito destajar,
quando vio que al cuerpo non li podie llegar *Alix* 1333

Sovose muy quedado, sopose encobrir,
Atendia esta cosa a que podrie exir *SDom* 163

Non podriemos sin esso la razon acordar,
Porque nos alonguemos bien sabremos tornar *SDom* 186

Cadio antel a prieçes, mas non podie fablar:
Mas el Sennor que saue la uoluntad juzgar *SDom* 607

A tal sennor debemos servir, e aguadar,
Que sabe a sus siervos de tal guisa onrrar:
Nol podrie nul omne comedir, nin asmar,
En qual ganançia torna a Dios serviçio far *SDom* 756

The concepts present in the two verbs, though distinct, show certain points of contact. *Saber* generally includes all of *poder* and adds to it its idea of *knowing*. *Saber* adds to an expression a personal touch that is absent in *poder*. Thus, when one of the two might be expected, the other is sometimes found in a given passage, adding or changing the sense most subtly. *Saber* was often used as an emphatic substitute for *poder*, when *poder* would have seemed weak and colorless because of its being one of the two most frequent infinitive-taking verbs of Old Spanish.

One interesting example of *saber* and infinitive, each having an object, and the personal object of *saber* evidently indirect, occurs in *Cron* 90a27: *fizo el solo sin ayuda dotri lo que no sabien a otro omne fazer fasta aquella sazon.* This would be considered regular according to the usage of two objects with *fazer*, *ver*, etc. References are classed below according to tense, as was done for *poder* above.

(pres. ind.) *Cid* 373, 2024; *Alix* 40, 41, 43, 55, 356, 705, 782, 875, 876, 879, 980; *SDom* 607, 756; *Sac* 73; *SMill* 77, 445, 448; *Mil* 73, 304, 495, 703, 841, 861, 908; *Sig* 61; *Duelo* 76, 102.

(impf. ind.) *SDom* 6, 16, 48, 89, 346, 635, 704; *Alix* 154, 161, 210, 217, 356, 390, 565, 673, 858; *Duelo* 67, 112; *Mil* 84, 142, 220, 435, 579, 705, 707, 725, 885, 901; *SMill* 233; *SLaur* 21.

(pret.) *Cid* 2202; *SDom* 163, 766; *Sac* 190; *Alix* 98, 138, 150, 219, 341, 471, 564, 624, 653, 887, 996; *Loor* 48; *Mil* 348, 461, 901.

(fut.) *Cid* 2862, 3315; *SDom* 186; *Alix* 95, 140, 966.

(condtl.) *SDom* 8, 74, 751; *Alix* 278, 673, 945; *Duelo* 130; *Mil* 76, 494, 545.

(pres. subj.) *Sac* 70; *Alix* 3, 65; *Himnos* 1.6; *SMill* 199.

(impf. subj.) *Alex* 16; *SMill* 402, 585.

(fut. subj.) *SOria* 19.

soler.

This verb is one of the less frequent of the modal auxiliaries. This is probably due to the fact that there were other means of expressing approximately its sense, while in the case of other auxiliaries the sense was unique. Thus the imperfect indicative might be used when no emphasis was needed, and with emphasis *usar* and infinitive, with or without preposition. These agencies doubtless somewhat diminished the frequency of *soler* with infinitive. In the *Sacrificio* it is noted about sixteen times, while in the *Cid* only one instance of it occurs. This shows considerable irregularity in its use by authors of the period. It is noticeable that the present and imperfect indicative are the only tenses represented in these texts (except for one instance of the present subjunctive in *SDom* 177).

(pres. ind.) *Cid* 3380; *SDom* 2, 51, 95, 470, 551, 776; *Duelo* 28; *SOria* 4, 39; *Mil* 141, 149, 704; *SMill* 5, 147, 485.

(impf. ind.) *SDom* 177, 188, 399, 574, 635, 691; *Sac* 6, 51, 114, 134, 149, 231, 233, 336, 396, 465, 476, 514, 719, 737, 738, 878; *SMill* 26, 77, 224, 234, 335.

(pres. subj.) *SDom* 177.

The Pure Infinitive with Verbs of Wishing and Liking

15. The strongest of the verbs eligible for this class, *querer*, has already been treated under the modal auxiliaries, but there are several others of slightly varying sense that rightly belong here. *Cobdiçiar* and *amar* are the most frequent verbs of the

group, the others appearing only sporadically. It is a striking fact that *cobdiçiar* alone can be used with prepositions, the others being confined to the pure infinitive object. This is not so peculiar when it is considered that the idea of *wishing* naturally takes an object direct rather than through the agency of the preposition, at best slightly roundabout, and it is because of this directness in reaching the object of *wishing* that some verb like *volere, quaerere*, has always been considered as a modal auxiliary in each of the Romance languages. It is also true that there is no verb of *wishing* or *liking* listed under the *de*-infinitive except *cobdiçiar* (the nearest being *asmar*, Eng. *aim*). An exceptional case under the pure infinitive is *gozar*, more regular with reflexive pronoun and *de* in the sense of *to enjoy*. It is also noteworthy that *dessear*, which is common later, occurs only twice in our texts.

amar.

This is the only infinitive construction noted for *amar*.

Non amaba oir palabras de vanidat *SOria* 22
amete sienpre laudar e bendeçir *Mil* 522
ama lidiar *Cron* 43a3
amas derecho departir *Alix* 349
aman vnos a otros escatimas buscar *Alix* 1796
mas aman fer thesoros que vedar estultiçia *Alix* 1800
lo aman seruir *Alix* 2314
Amaba desti mundo seer desembargado *SMill* 34
Bien amarie . . . exir dest exilio de malvezeat poblado *SMill* 34
Siempre amé foir esti sieglo astroso *SMill* 103

cobdiçiar.

The infinitives with *de, a, por*, are also found with *cobdiçiar*.

cobdiçias allá ir *SOria* 158
la que yo fer cobdiçio *SDom* 53
Qui los regnos agenos cobdiçia conquerir *Alix* 65
Lo que el Padre sancto cobdiçiaua veer *SDom* 488
yo beuir non cobdiçio *Alix* 1684
El que perder non teme nin cobdiçia ganar *Alix* 1917
cobdiçian condesar *Alix* 1917

con mis vasallos cobdiçio yo morir *Alix* 2132
cobdiciariemos ante morir *Cron* 46a28
cobdiciaua ya uerse ayuntado con los moros *Cron* 394b19
cobdiciaua uer et ser en tal affruenta con Almançor en el campo *Cron* 395a3
cobdiciando uerter de la sangre de los moros *Cron* 396a13
cobdiciando casar con un rey *Cron* 454a18
ell cobdiçiando uenir a la mas alta onrra *Cron* 664b9

An equivalent of *cobdiçiar* is the noun locution *auer cobdiçia.* Expressions like this usually take *de* to introduce the infinitive, and are common as variants for the simple verbs. The preposition is omitted in:

Sy avedes cobdiçia a la tierra tornar *Alix* 1591
Tanto auie grant cobdiçia con Poro se fallar *Alix* 1965

dessear.

desseando morir por la fe *Cron* 686b27
desseando uençer o morir *Cron* 695a10

gozar.

Used reflexively *gozar* takes the *de*-infinitive in the sense of *to enjoy.*

gozolo oyr *Alix* 2576

gradar.

Menéndez Pidal[1] calls this a *verbo auxiliar de modo,* and translates *gradó exir* by *quiso salir.*

gradó exir de la posada *Cid* 200

The Pure Infinitive with Verbs of the Mental Processes

16. The verbs of this group offer more diversity in sense than is usually desired in classifying instances according to meaning. They do, however, all come under the rather general head of the mental processes. It is evident that any classification ac-

[1] *Cid* II, *gradar.*

cording to meaning is necessarily inaccurate, because verbs do not fall into clear-cut groups but merge one into the other almost imperceptibly, so that a given verb can often be grouped equally well in either of two classes. Evidence of this is at hand in the systems of treatment of this immediate group by various Romance scholars. Dittes, for the Provençal, chooses only *saber, jutjar,* and *esperar* for this section while considering verbs of fearing in a group by themselves. Diez [1] with the *verbes de sentiment,* includes *temer, creer, cuidar, desear, pretender, fingir, esperar.* Otto for the Portuguese puts together *die Verben des Denkens, Empfindens und Sagens, sowie bei verbalen Ausdrücken, die "halten für . . ., nehmen für . . ." bedeuten.* Here he groups verbs like *conhecer, crer, esperar, imaginar, confessar, jurar, negar, pedir,* etc. The list that seems most appropriate in Old Spanish includes *asmar, cuidar* and *pensar* — which naturally go together as verbs of thinking, — *dennar* (from Latin *dignari* . . . to consider worthy), *esperar,* and the verbs of fearing, *temer* and *dubdar.* It will be seen that these verbs do not so universally take the pure infinitive as the verbs of wishing above. On the contrary, the *de*-infinitive is more common with these verbs of the mental processes than the pure construction. The *relative de* (*in respect to, concerning, in the matter of, relating to*) fits in very well with nearly all the members of the group. *Pensar* almost always takes *de; asmar, dubdar,* and *temer* take *de* currently; while *cuidar* and *dennar* form exceptions to this usage and remain pure in a great majority of instances.

asmar.

This verb occurs more often with *de*-infinitive.

Asmaba esconderse en alguna socarrena,
Non fer ningun enoio a iantar nin a çena *SMill* 192
asmo fer vna cosa el solo señero *Alix* 600
Asmo yr prender lengua . . . de las huestes *Alix* 601
Asmo fer vn castillo *Alix* 720

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 209, 6.

asmauan con eso encobrir la çelada *Alix* 730
Asmava el buen omne atravesar la mar *Alix* 2247
Asmo de la primera . . . tornar en Babiloña *Alix* 2438

Tener forms an emphatic perfect with the past participle of *asmar* in:

tiene asmado los Infiernos proiçiar,
a mi con todos vos otros en cadenas echar *Alix* 2418

cuydar (cui-, cue-).

Menéndez Pidal lists *cuidar*[1] under the verbs of *entendimiento ó sentido* along with *oir* and *ver*. Though rare with prepositional infinitive, it does occur with *de*, as might be expected from the frequency of *de* with *pensar* and *asmar*, naturally associated with *cuydar*. The *en*-infinitive is also noted with *cuydar* (*en* becomes common with *pensar* later). Thus, though *cuydar* and *pensar* show the effect of influence on each other, each preserves its own predominant type in our texts, *pensar* with *de* and *cuydar* with pure infinitive. Although the two verbs had much the same sense, they were not equivalents (*pensar* had the additional sense of *disponerse a*, *empezar a*, etc.)[2]. Considerable irregularity of use is found in these verbs, some authors using one with great frequency and neglecting the other, and vice versa. Thus *pensar* is extremely common in the *Cid*, but not elsewhere. *Cuydar*, however, is only noted four times in the *Cid*, while in the *Alixandre* there are about seventy recurrences of it. Its proportionate frequency also varies greatly in the other texts examined.

Cuido por esta manna aver delli derecho *SDom* 173
De toda esta çoyta cuidaria sanar *SDom* 342
Yo sano e guarido cuidaria tornar *SDom* 476
cuidaban aver el ospedado *SDom* 508
non cueido y pecar *SDom* 581
Cuidaron traer prenda . . . Cuidaron fer ganançia *SDom* 702
cuedandol engannar *Cron* 322b34

[1] *Cid* I, § 160, 4.
[2] For a discussion of these senses, see Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* II, *pensar*.

cuedas reuellar et deffenderte a los alaraues *Cron* 322b44
cuedandosse fallar y algunos *Cron* 338b17
nin le cuedaua auer *Cron* 344a33
non cuydauan beuir mas *Cron* 353b5
asi commo el cuydara fazer trayçion a Alhacan *Cron* 358a41
nunqua a sus tierras cuedauan ya tornar *Cron* 367b20
cuedando ya estár en paz *Cron* 371a14
por aquella trayçion que cuedauan fazer *Cron* 376b6
de lo mio que cuedo fazer *Cron* 401b40
Yo cuedaua prender oy a el et a sus cristianos *Cron* 405a44
cuedandose alli defender *Cron* 411a17

Also *Cid* 556, 972, 2961, 3011; *SDom* 435; *Sac* 209; *Loor* 46, 223; *SOria* 110, 139; *Mil* 127, 128, 189, 207, 465, 472, 522, 595, 603, 638, 640; *SMill* 13, 82, 196, 262, 270, 453; *Duelo* 96, 139, 161; *Sig* 54; *Alix* 104, 150, 254, 338, 347, 464, 472, 492, 498, 519, 564, 567, 569, 584, 664, 770, 805, 943, 956, 1001, 1017, 1020, 1102, 1105, 1184, 1195, 1251, 1355, 1397, 1485, 1543, 1544, 1606, 1649, 1655, 1670, 1676, 1730, 1757, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1905, 1920, 2000, 2029, 2037, 2058, 2124, 2155, 2174, 2185, 2234, 2272, 2369, 2372, 2405, 2412, 2426, 2464, 2492, 2503, 2579, 2635; *Cron* 411b48, 414a6, 414a32, 414a36, 414a41, 422b41, 452b29, 461b7, 462a46, 506a38, 507a15, 507a17, 517a28, etc.

dennar (-ñ-).

It is noteworthy that this verb is not used in the *Cid* at all, while in the *Milagros* it occurs in seven instances and is found fourteen times in the *Santo Domingo*. I mention these facts to show the lack of uniformity in its appearance in our texts. Considering, as the facts show, that Berceo used *dennar* currently in his poems, it seems strange that if he wrote the *Alixandre*, he allowed it to appear only once in all the 10,000 lines it contains. It will be seen from the examples following that *dennar* was particularly current in prayers to the Creator or to the saints for assistance. Its use was evidently quite restricted at this period and more affected by religious writings than those purely laical. No prepositional constructions are at hand for *dennar*.

sy en algo pecaremos el nos deñe valer *Alix* 4
denna nos defender *Himnos* 3.6
miraglos Que dennó Dios al mundo por elli demostrar *SMill* 109
dennest prender passion *SMill* 119
. . . que nos dennó driar *SMill* 231
. . . Que denne poner termino al nuestro luengo planto *SMill* 326
denna a mi catar *Duelo* 75
Emperadriz gloriosa denna a nos catar *Loor* 221
el nos deñe guyar *SDom* 289
La su uirtut preciosa que te deño guarir *SDom* 312
deña me visitar *SDom* 342
fuera qpe li deñasse Dios los oios abrir *SDom* 346
. . . que dennase por elli al Criador rogar *SDom* 427
. . . que elli lis deñasse conseio enbiar *SDom* 450
Sy tu por mj dennasses una mjssa cantar *SDom* 476
deña me guaresçer *SDom* 576
deña amj catar *SDom* 649
tu deña por ellos aDios merçed pedir *SDom* 764
rogamos que deñes delas nuestras pensar *SDom* 766
deña nos defender *SDom* 769
Denna resçebir, Padre, la nuestra confession *SDom* 771
deña por Gonçalo al Criador rogar *SDom* 775
miraclo. . . . Que por Sancta Maria dennó Dios demostrar *Mil* 75
Los que por la Gloriosa denna Dios demostrar *Mil* 235
Madre gloriosa dennanos perdonar *Mil* 389
de tan grant infamia me dennesti guarir *Mil* 543
la gracia que me deñesti fer *Mil* 545
li denno valer *Mil* 845, 862

pensar.

The pure infinitive is quite rare with *pensar*, the regular use being with *de*. The infinitives with *a* and *por* are found once each. *Pensar* with pure infinitive shows a great similarity to *cuydar* in the same use, although even here a subtle difference can be noticed. With *de*, however, there is more difference evident, and the *pensar* locution varies from a close approximation of *cuydar* to the sense mentioned by Menéndez Pidal [1]

[1] *Cid* II, *penssar*.

of *disponerse a, empezar a.* In the few examples of pure infinitive with *pensar* following, five instances come from the *Alixandre.*

penso contra el yr *Alix* 521
pensaron a porfidia en los muros sobir *Alix* 1071
penso fer cada vno a dios su petiçion *Alix* 1163
. . . pensaron al fer:
quando escuresçie de biuo lo prender,
darlo a Alixandre por mejor lo aver *Alix* 1680
mandaua cridar que pensasen las leys sus casas aguardar *Alix* 2414
Pensat, diz Laurençio, tornar del otro lado,
Buscat buena pevrada, ca assaz so assado,
Pensat de almorzar, ca avredes lazdrado *SLaur* 104

In the last citation above *pensar* and *pensar de* are employed with no perceptible difference of meaning. In the citations from the *Alixandre,* however, the normal sense of *pensar* with pure infinitive is evident.

esperar.

Without initial *e* this verb appears as *sperar,* also taking pure infinitive object. No prepositional uses occur. The two cases from the *Crónica* both come from the same page, and the use of the first may have caused the use of the second.

qual gualardon espera en cabo rresçebir *Alix* 1792
esperando ell auer el sennorio *Cron* 714a48
sperando prender essa cipdad *Cron* 714b9

dubdar.

The pure infinitive with *dubdar* is rarer than the *de*-infinitive. The construction with *en* occurs once. The ethical dative in reflexive pronoun objects is not noted with *dubdar* and pure infinitive, though it is found with *temer,* a closely related verb. Four of the five examples following are taken from the *Alixandre.* All are negative.

non dubdauan moryr *Alix* 497
non dubdo esperarlo *Alix* 665
non dubdauan morir *Alix* 1071
su aver non dubdan con los pobres partir *Alix* 2314
non dubdan fer peccado *Sig* 42

temer.

The *de*-infinitive also appears with *temer*, though not so currently as the pure construction. The ethical dative reflexive so common in the passages of the *de*-infinitive with *temer* is rare with the pure use: *temiendose de matarse uno a otro*, Cron 466a15.

non se temia caer *Mil* 547
temie de los otros seyer varruntado *Alix* 1667
temien mucho tardar *Alix* 1722
non te temas errar *SDom* 724
temia perder el regno *Loor* 36
non temo de rriqueza auer nunca fallençia *Alix* 45
temo fer alguno de voluntad pecar *Alix* 1858
El que perder non teme *Alix* 1917
temien anbos veyer la muerte del conpañero *Alix* 1997
temie perder la vida *Alix* 2065
temome a ventura despues ser mal caydo *Alix* 2228
de yra non se temen defender *Alix* 2349

Other Verbs with Pure Infinitive Object

17. The verbs of this section are not unified in sense as are those of other groups. The idea of *daring* is present, however, in three (*atreuerse*, *treuerse*, *osar*), and that of *beginning* in two (*començar*, *empeçar*). Prepositional uses of the infinitive are more frequent here than the pure construction. *Osar* is the greatest exception to the versatility of the group, taking only the pure infinitive, and for this reason being classed sometimes as a modal auxiliary.[1]

[1] Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* I, § 160.

atender.

atendien el dia del plazo commo quien atiende salir de prision *Cron* 587b19

atreuerse.

The prepositions *de*, *a* and *en* are also noted with *atreuerse* and infinitive.

ni eran tantos que se atreuiessen salir *Cron* 104a37

non se ueyen conpanna de que az de si se atreuiesen fazer *Cron* 726b11

auer mester.

Such locutions are much more common with *de*-infinitive.

non ouieron mester tomar afan *Cron* 727b24

çessar.

This verb more commonly takes *de*-infinitive.

non çessaré nunqua graçias a ti rrender *Mil* 545

començar.

This important verb takes the pure infinitive in 11 instances. Two of these are admittedly doubtful, there being possibility of absorption of the preposition *a* by a juxtaposed *a*, as suggested by Fitz-Gerald.[1] The difficulty is that proof for such voluntary omission seems impossible for these individual instances (see § 45):

començo muy afirmes al Criador rogar *SDom* 450

ante començo el la açada buscar *SDom* 726

It is true that absorption of *a* did take place in Old Spanish [2] but the fact that in the very poem offering the doubtful passages an instance of the pure infinitive occurs with *començar*, in which there is no possibility of absorption, since there is no juxtaposed *a*, indicates that to the author the *a* was not a necessary part of the *començar* construction:

començaron los monges las canpanas tañer *SDom* 568

Fitz-Gerald notes this fact, but thinks that the prevalence of the *a* in contemporary use justifies our accepting the doubtful

[1] *Versification of the Cuaderna Via*, p. 50.

[2] Fitz-Gerald, *Vers. Cuad. Via*, pp. 48–52.

instances as cases of absorption. It is evident, however, that if the author did not wish to use the preposition, there was no necessity for his so doing, since other texts offer several additional examples of the pure construction with no possibility of absorption:

començó darle guerra *Alix* 402
Començol mal traher con palabras yradas *Alix* 451
Començol dar priesa *Alix* 685
començaron guerrear luego *Cron* 219a6
començó . . . guerrear a Aragon *Cron* 653b19
començaron ordenar commo yrien cercar a Valencia *Cron* 605a46
obras de piedad que començó y fazer *Cron* 684b32
començó yr su uia *Cron* 741a50

It should be remarked as significant that five of these citations come from the *Crónica*, a prose text slightly later than Berceo. Thus neither was the construction with pure infinitive antiquated, nor was *a* here omitted for metrical reasons.

enpeçar (em-).

This verb is, like *començar*, much more common with *de* and *a*. Of these prepositions, *a* is much more frequently employed than *de*. Six instances of the pure infinitive are listed below, in three of which there is possibility of absorption of *a* (see § 45).

Enpeçol el maestro al Infant demandar *Alix* 35
enpeço . . . a todos maltraher *Alix* 2058
enpieçan al cresuelo veylar los abezantes *Alix* 2529

Empezó en los clerigos façer grant crueldat *SLaur* 26
Ante que empezasse tanner la monedera *Mil* 290
Empezó con grant gozo cantar Salve Regina *Mil* 539

ensayar.

Several examples of *ensayar* with *de*-infinitive occur.

non . . . ensayaua fazer con ella nada *Cron* 626b42

guisar.

This verb is commonly used only as a reflexive. It then takes *por*, *pora*, and *para* with the infinitive in expressions of purpose. As a transitive, it is noted with *pora*-infinitive.

uos guise yo comer *Cron* 135b5
guisando mantenerle la *Cron* 539a19

mere(s)çer.

The pure infinitive is the most frequent with *meresçer*, though examples of the constructions with *a* and *de* occur. It is interesting that it is not noted at all in the *Cid*, and only once in the *Alixandre*.

non meresçe Mesopinia ser oluidado *Alix* 273
Non mereçen mis carnes iaçer tan viçiosas *SOria* 130
mereçie seer levado *Mil* 241
El mal non mereçiendo seer tan mal iuzgado *Duelo* 48
Non mereçie seer echado del sagrario *Mil* 107
Non mereçe entrar *Mil* 245
Non mereçie iaçer *Mil* 277
el mi buen prez que yo merecia auer *Cron* 39b51
tu meresciste dexar la locura de los ydolos *Cron* 188a17
. . . que despues de la muerte meresca seer coronado de Dios *Cron* 686a44
veremos qual de nos meresçe mas traer las ondas *Cron* 763b15
para meresçer reynar con el *Cron* 771a36
. . . porque merescamos auer parte con el *Cron* 774b2

osar.

The most frequent verb of this section is *osar*. The only striking fact in its syntax is that its union with dependent infinitive is so close that no prepositional constructions are found. For this reason it is sometimes classed as a modal auxiliary (Diez and Menéndez Pidal so class it, but Meyer-Lübke and Otto omit it from their lists of auxiliaries).

non lo osaua catar *Alix* 36
non osarie el fillo nunca ally asomar *Alix* 156
non las osaron tanner de los pulgares *SDom* 276
fer non lo osaria *Duelo* 129

non osa ninguno dar salto a la çaga *Cid* 483
el otro non gel osó esperar *Cid* 768
. . . quomo osas fablar? *Cid* 3328
non osaua nadi entrarle fiador *Alex* 229
paresçer non osaua ninguno en su derecho *Alix* 517
yxir a la batalla ninguno non osaua *Alix* 591
Tanto osarien alçar contra uos la çeruiz *Alex* 746
non osaremos en ella asomar *Alix* 875
pararsely delante ningunos non osauan *Alix* 987
el mensajero dezir non lo osaua *Alix* 1231
lo que entendemos dezir non lo osamos *Alix* 1252
non osaua ninguno tomar arma, *Cron* 520a21
non osaua ninguno parecer ant el *Cron* 520a36
non les osaua tomar ninguna cosa *Cron* 520a39

Also: *Cid* 30, 44, 64, 1171, 1375, 2890; *Sac* 26, 139; *SDom* 353, 442, 744; *Mil* 88, 380, 791; *Sig* 19, 61; *Loor* 42; *Alix* 1249, 1308, 1310, 1311, 1313, 1596, 2049, 2076, 2146, 2296, 2404, 2409, 2614; *Cron* 522a7, 529a21, 556a51, 556a7, 559a29, 562b42, 563a52, 563b9, 566a15, 566b17, 575a26, 583a21, 583b33.

treuerse (-v-).

This verb is treated as a modal auxiliary by Menéndez Pidal[1] because of its similarity to *osar*. *Treuerse* also takes *a* with the infinitive.

Nin se trevien foir *SMill* 452
non se treven ganar tanto *Cid* 567
arrancar me los trevo con la merçed del Criador *Cid* 2337
contra la aguijada coçear non me treuo *SDom* 102
qui pazes te demanda nos treve guerrear *Alix* 1254
lidiar nos treuien *Alix* 1996
se la non treuie uencer *Cron* 93a50
non se le trouo esperar *Cron* 500a3
non se treuien ya lidiar con los cristianos *Cron* 529a46
et si se treuie lidiar con ellos *Cron* 573a39

usar.

Several instances of *a*- and *de*-infinitives with *usar* are noted.

assi como dantigo usaran fazer los godos *Cron* 348a23

[1] *Cid* I, § 160.

THE PURE INFINITIVE AS OBJECT OF FAZER, DEXAR, AND MANDAR

18. The infinitive is commonly considered as the object of *fazer*, *dexar*, etc. in such constructions as *fizo lo quedar*. Thus Meyer-Lübke treats it, and with him the majority of Romance scholars. Otto however, following Lücking, destroys the clarity of relation between *fazer* and infinitive by discussing a logical and a grammatical point of view, according to the first of which he takes the infinitive to be a predicate noun in relation to the direct object (generally a pronoun) of *fazer*. Whatever value this subtle complication may have in logic, it has none for this study. I shall, therefore, follow the generally accepted treatment of the phenomenon rather than the ingenious method of Lücking and Otto.

In Old Spanish the regular constructions of *fazer* and infinitive are *fizo lo quedar* and *fizo les fazer cartas*, according as one or two objects are present. Thus the personal object is generally direct if the infinitive has no object expressed, while it is indirect if such an object is present. Exceptions to this treatment will be considered later.

The problem of greatest interest in connection with the *fazer* group, which includes the verbs of sense perception (*ver* and *oyr*), is that of the indirect object of the agent, regular when the infinitive has an object as well as *fazer*. The theory formerly held was due to Tobler,[1] and has been supported by Meyer-Lübke, Körting, Brunot and others. This theory explains the indirect object of the agent with *fazer* and infinitive as due to analogy with the group of verbs taking a direct object of the thing and indirect object of the person. Thus for the French is cited as a parallel construction *j'ordonne à mon ami de faire une démarche*. The indirect is then considered as the normal form of this personal object, and the direct as a later deviation.

Muller[2] successfully combats this position, and shows that

[1] *Verm. Beitr.*, I, p. 167. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 256.

[2] "*La Préposition à dans les locutions du type de* Faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un," Columbia Dissertation, 1912.

the dative here is to be traced back to a variety of the possessive dative in Latin. He quotes Lejay:[1] "Une variété du datif possessif est le datif de l'agent du passif. Il semble qu'à l'origine ce datif, joint à une forme quelconque du passif, n'était pas différent du datif dit d'intérêt." In this connection, compare the Classical Latin use of the dative of the agent in gerundive constructions such as *mihi credendum est.*

A summary of Muller's study follows:

The passive infinitive of transitive verbs was used in Folk Latin with *facere* (in the sense of *jubere*), with the verbs of sense perception, and with verbs of ordering. Examples:

Quatuor arietes occidi fecit, Vulg., *Tob.*, 8, 22
Quorum facitis vota compleri, *Epist. ad Justin.*, 10, 8, 2
Eum adduci jusserat, *Passion. Leudgar.*, 1, 12

Consequently, the dative of the agent was employed with the passive infinitive in the above constructions:

Sic nos judicibus ipsum praeceptum relegi fecimus, *Cod. Lon.*, t. IV, p. 259
Festivis diebus veniente ad ecclesiam populo fac eis praedicari verbum Dei, *Vit. Vedast.*, 415
litteras . . . quas . . . de tribunali populis eas feceris adnunciari, *Esp. Sagrad.*, t. V, p. 406
Et neque nobis neque ab heredibus nostris presens cartulam posse disrumpi, Muratori, t. II, dis. 6, 32, p. 475

With intransitive verbs, the passive infinitive not being available, the regular subject-accusative was used instead of the above dative of the agent.

Stare faciet alios, Vulg., *Job*, 34, 24
Ut pervenire facerent ad eum clamorem egeni, Vulg., *Job*, 34, 28
Et horis aliquot (animal) deambulare facies, Veg., *Ars vet.*, I, 54

Muller shows (*p.* 41) that from about the beginning of the seventh century, the indistinct pronunciation of final un-

[1] In the *Mélanges Havet*, p. 199.

accented vowels caused a confusion between the active and the passive forms of the present infinitive, so that out of the four conjugations, only the third presented even in written texts a distinct passive form. Thus *amare-amari*, *monere-moneri*, and *finire-finiri* became confused, and the active infinitive was substituted in these constructions, which formerly took the passive. But the passive sense still survived in the active form, as is evidenced by the fact that active and passive infinitive appear in the same passages in the same construction, the infinitive of the verbs of the first, second, and fourth conjugations standing in the active form and the infinitive of verbs of the third appearing in the passive, because here phonetic confusion was impossible (*ducere-duci*, *occidere-occidi*).

Gestorum veritas quae historiae inseri possit, ad plenum reperire non potest, Fred., 2, 49

Vel quicquid dici aut nominare potest, Marc. *Form.*, II, 4, 77, 8

Nominibus nostris subscribi et confirmare jubemus, *Esp. Sagrad.*, t. XL, p. 382

During the latter part of the eighth century the passive form of the infinitives of the third conjugation is also replaced by the active, though the sense remains unchanged (*fieri*, very significantly, is the latest passive form noted):

Fac fieri quod et ipse jubes miserere rogantis, Drac. *Carm.* 3, 618

Deprecans ut . . . facere ei jubissemus, Pardessus, 173, 129

Deinde quodquod volueris scapilatura facere facere fac, Murator., t. IV, Dis. 24, p. 683

After the disappearance of the passive infinitive, the dative of the agent is retained with the active infinitive, the passive sense still being felt:

Aperire fecit filiis matris viscera, *V. Caes.*, I, 33

faciat nobis peccata nostra . . . cognoscere, *Cap. R. F.*, t. II, n° 185, 5

Thus the personal indirect object in Romance constructions of the *faire faire* type is the survival of the dative of the agent employed in Folk Latin. The use of *à* with nouns and pronouns to indicate the indirect object is traceable to the general supplanting of the dative by *ad* at the time of the loss of case endings: [1]

> Ecclesia beati S. Petri qui ad me fundata est, *C. L.*, t. V, 939, 695

In Old Spanish, as indeed in Modern Spanish, sentences like *fizolo soterrar* can be understood to have either active or passive sense in the infinitive (if active, *lo* would be the object of *soterrar*). At the present time probably a majority of conscious users of Spanish would not admit the passive force of the infinitive in the construction discussed by Muller. At what time the feeling for the traditional passive was lost, if it has indeed been lost, cannot be determined. A passive sense can, however, be most readily ascribed to the infinitive in phrases of the type *fizolo soterrar*. When the position of the object is after the infinitive (the object here being generally a noun, as in *fizo fer armas*), it often seems a violence to the construction to consider the infinitive as passive. In any case, the position of objects in the following citations permits rather of speculation as to probability, than of certainty, in the matter of active or passive sense in the infinitive. Since the infinitive is active in form, and our period so far removed from that of the passive infinitive in these constructions, it is usually possible to consider the sense, as well as the form, of the infinitive as active.

The most frequent position of the object is between *fazer* and the dependent infinitive. In this position, it seems to me, the infinitive may readily be felt as passive:

> fízolos nonbrar *Cid* 1264
> fiçieronlo damnar *Duelo* 72
> Fizo todos los ninnos de Belleem matar *Duelo* 199
> fizolo enforcar *Alix* 169

[1] Muller, *Prep. à*, p. 60.

fizo los huesos en vn fuego echar *Alix* 169
fizolo encantar *Alix* 395
fizo conçeio fer *Alix* 551
fizolas enlazar *Alix* 644
fazial prender biuo *Alix* 936
Fizolo ençender *Mil* 362
fizo se ala casa traher *SDom* 391
faze los matar *Alix* 1809
. . . fer se llamar señor *Alix* 2441
fizo el tiemplo consagrar *Sac* 68

Also: *Alix* 666, 792, 857, 867, 889, 915, 1024, 1168, 1197, 1361, 1416, 1536, 1539, 1693, 1783, 1809, 1949, 2367, 2380, 2463, 2629; *Sac* 51, 68, 242; *SDom* 111, 332, 552, 559, 741.

The object also stands commonly between *fazer* and infinitive when the infinitive is intransitive:

fizolo quedar *Alix* 492
non fizolos seyer quedos *Alix* 499
fizo a Luçifer en infierno caer *SMill* 100
Fizome . . . entrar *SOria* 149
façeslas ir *Himnos* 3.1
fizieron los foyr *Alix* 992
fizieron los lazrar *Alix* 1413

Also: *Alix* 395, 590, 616, 618, 1278, 1554, 1786, 1808, 1858, 1904, 1991; *SOria* 149; *Sac* 163; *SMill* 250; *SLaur* 1; *Loor* 135.

Examples of the object preceding the *fazer* form, though not rare, are not so numerous as those just discussed. This position also lends itself easily to a passive interpretation of the infinitive:

en vida nos faz juntar *Cid* 365
lo farie colgar *Alix* 761
lo fizo en ello comedyr *Alix* 2432
el coral que los rrayos faze bien rreferir *Alix* 1454
lo fizieron atar *Alix* 1695
non se fazien temer *Alix* 1872
Tu la hagas barrer *Mil* 177
. . . ques fazie en el mar . . . traher *Alix* 1426

This position with intransitive infinitives is even more frequent than with transitives:

non lo farian reyr *SDom* 89
nos façen peccar *Mil* 121
me faga dios morir *Alix* 1765
te fizo Dios de los reys nasçer *Loor* 20
dios te faga durar *Alix* 779
el vos faga del mundo seyer enperador *Alix* 178
los fizo quedar *Alix* 540
Sagita que las nuues faz a ssy uenir *Alex* 1454

Also: *Mil* 351, 388, 396; *Alix* 104, 133, 351, 507, 819, 1046.

The position of the object most naturally used with active infinitive (*fizo fer una capa*) is comparatively frequent in our texts. The fact that with intransitive infinitive this position is quite rare helps to support the theory that the infinitive here actually takes the object. It is significant that all objects discovered in this position are nouns, and are perhaps placed after the infinitive in order not to break the close connection between it and *fazer*. This closeness of relation is hardly disturbed by the use of the pronoun between the two verbs (*fizolo fer*). Meyer-Lübke classes *hacer* as a modal auxiliary along with *dexar*, thus recognizing the close union of *hacer* and dependent infinitive.

. . . por fer matar a Etor *Alix* 662
Faz camiar tu nombre *Alix* 376
fizo rrancar las tiendas *Alix* 755
. . . que faga i cantar mill missas *Cid* 225
fizo mio Çid fincar siete tablados *Cid* 2249
Fizo en vna carta Dario fer la figura *Alix* 138
Façie pudir la casa *SMill* 184
Fizo aparellar toda la cleresçia *Alix* 1120
faze purgar la fenbra *Alix* 1459
Fizo prender dos grifos *Alix* 2461
Fizo fer vna casa *Alix* 2462
Fizo fer vna capa *Alix* 212
fizo el rrey . . . poblar vna rrica çibdat *Alix* 2073

With intransitive infinitive:

fare venir a Dario merçed a nos pedyr *Alex* 194
fazen bolar las nuues *Alix* 686
fazie . . . plorar a sus barones *Alix* 1770

Only the examples with one object are treated above. These are much more numerous than those having two objects. In the latter cases, the agent is made the indirect object, and the infinitive has a direct object definitely its own. There are so few examples available that little of value can be gained by a study of the position of the objects present, but it is interesting to observe the great variety of arrangements employed:

1. fazen les encorvar . . . las çeruizes *Alix* 2320
2. fizieselos quitar *Alix* 1568
3. fizieron lo ellos a los otros leuar *Alix* 1695
4. fizolo saber luego a sus adelantados *Alix* 826
5. yo le fare leuar el gato *Alix* 1270
6. nos faze a todos tan buen padre perder *Alix* 2619
7. carrera mala le fagamos tomar *Alix* 2421
8. el que se fazie dios a los omnes dezir *Alix* 1511
9. no lo pudieron fazer saber a los otros *Cron* 58a54

Of these arrangements, the first and second are much the most frequent, the others occurring only sporadically.

1. faze a las nodrizas auer leyte sobeja *Alix* 1459
   fazel oluidar la materia *Alix* 1789
   querria fer a la madre veyer del fiio duelo *Alix* 2532
   fazen al omne fer muyta villania *Alix* 2356
   fizieron a los romanos saber el danno *Cron* 20a25
   fizoles echar suertes *Cron* 20b38
   fes le entender bien toda tu voluntad *Alix* 379
   Fizieron les tornar las cuestas *Alix* 616
   fazial . . . dar vn grito agudo *SDom* 627
   la que face al carro perder el cabezon *Sac* 264
   Façieli el demonio deçir grandes locuras *SMill* 158
   fizoles fazer luego cartas de saluedat *Alix* 292
   Fizoli despuiar la cogulla *Mil* 560
   Fiçieronlis deçir toda la pleytesia *Mil* 891
   fazen les encorvar . . . las çeurizes *Alix* 2320

2. fazie a los suyos las fronteras rrobar *Alix* 857
   Esta faz a los omnes omezidios obrar *Alix* 2346
   fazeles a las madres los fijos matar *Alix* 2346
   Quiere fer los christianos a Christo denegar *SLaur* 29
   Fazieles la grant cueyta el miedo oluidar *Alix* 2138
   faznoslo entender *SOria* 153
   enuio al buen Padre fergelo entender *SDom* 331
3. faze enamistades a los omnes boluer *Alix* 1808
   faz lo que a nos dizes a ellos entender *Alix* 1818
   Fazelo a los pueblos bendezir e laudar *Alix* 2380
5. Que li fagas cobrar lo que solie aver *Mil* 738
   nol pueden fazer comer un muesso de pan *Cid* 1032
   querrienle fer . . . pechar la molendura *Alix* 1342
   Cueyta me faz prender a mi esta carrera *Alix* 2407

There was little irregularity in the use of direct and indirect objects in the *fazer* construction in our texts. Confusion was encouraged by forms doing duty for either direct or indirect object (*me*, *te*, *se*, *nos*, *vos*, and *a* with nouns and pronouns). On the whole, the regularity of treatment is more remarkable than the exceptions thereto.

One object is present, indirect form:

le fizo contorçer *Alix* 1046
fizol amolleçer *Alix* 1840
fazial prender biuo *Alix* 936
fizieron les syn grado en las naues entrar *Alix* 618

Two objects are present, both direct in form:

Avn auie el rrey mucho mas que fablar,
metieron todos bozes, fizieronlo la callar *Alix* 2273

El emperador anda por la fe guerrear,
Quiere fer los christianos a Christo denegar *SLaur* 29

A clause may take the place of the passive object, the agent remaining indirect:

Fizoles cuemo era la cosa entender *Alex* 539
Fizieron le creyer que lo querien matar *Alix* 1881
faz lo que a nos dizes a ellos entender *Alix* 1818

dexar, dessar.

This verb in general follows the treatment of *fazer*, described above. The pronoun object is found, however, somewhat more often preceding *dexar* (*non se dexo caher*, Alix 2071) than between *dexar* and infinitive, the prevailing position with *fazer* (*fizolo fazer*). Thus a very close union is observed between *dexar* and its dependent infinitive, for which reason Meyer-Lübke classes it as a modal auxiliary. Intransitive infinitives are found more often with *dexar* in our texts than transitives.

The object stands before *dexar*, infinitive transitive:

quenlas dexe sacar *Cid* 1277
nin nos desses perder *Himnos* 3.6
non lo dexo enterrar *Alix* 169
non se dexaua echar *Alix* 573
Asmaua . . . ques dexasen vençer *Alix* 722
por vna mala fenbra se dexo forçar *Alix* 750
Por una çeresa se dexa despeñar *Alex* 1763

In the same position, infinitive intransitive:

non lo dexa creçer *Alix* 764
dios te dexe beuir *Alix* 20
nolo dexo errar *Sac* 190
non me dessa fablar *Duelo* 146
no lo dexaron en su tienda estar *Alex* 1553
asi me dexe a España pasar *Alix* 1767
non se dexo caher *Alix* 2071

Also: *Alix* 148, 338, 584, 1918, 2252, 2287, 2397; *Mil* 581.

With the object standing between *dexar* and infinitive, transitive infinitives are particularly rare in our texts. These few instances are readily acceptable with passive interpretation of the infinitive (N.B. *matar* as the infinitive).

dexan la pobleçer *Alix* 1848
Desose matar *Loor* 91
dexose en crux matar *Loor* 135
Dexaronse matar *SOria* 81

The infinitive is intransitive:

déxenvos andar *Cid* 897
déxem ir en paz *Cid* 978
dexóla creçer *Cid* 3273
Dexemos al buen omne folgar en su posada *SDom* 113
dessóse morir *Duelo* 108
dessades vuestra Madre vevir *Duelo* 125
non dexauan las porras seyer de vegar *Alix* 1737
dexolo dios beuir *Alix* 1356
dexarnos ha beuir *Alix* 2069
Quiero dexar al rrey en las naues folgar *Alix* 2302
dexase morir *Alix* 2367
non dexaua las parras llegar a las figeras *Alix* 2527
dexaronlo vivir *Mil* 156

The position in which the object (a noun) follows both verbs is rare:

Dexó correr un canto *Alex* 557
Dexó correr la lança *Alex* 663
Non dexedes legar a vos otras compannas *Duelo* 174

One position affected by *dexar*, and lacking for *fazer*, is that in which the infinitive precedes both *dexar* and the object, thus giving the infinitive special emphasis:

quedar non las dexauan *Alix* 258
rogar non se dexaron mucho los mensageros *SDom* 117
. . . que caer non nos dexe en mala temptaçion *Sac* 264
morir se dexarie *Alix* 2539
errar non las dexaban *Mil* 8

With two objects present, there is naturally not so great a variety of order shown by *dexar* as by *fazer*, as *dexar* appears only about one-half as often as *fazer* in all uses. The normal *fazer* type (*fizoles echar suertes*, Cron 20b38) is strangely lacking in *dexar*. The infinitive regularly stands last.

non dexes a tus gentes tan grant daño prender *Alix* 597
Déssateme, sennora, los tus piedes tanner *Mil* 488
sol non les dexauan la cabeça rrascar *Alix* 1077
Asi me dexe dios mi voluntad conplir *Alix* 1766

Que me dexe en paz mi rencura deçir *Mil* 769
valia de vn dinero non li dexan lleuar *Alix* 1787
A nos essa nos desse el Criador usar *Mil* 704
nunca gela dexa . . . prouar *Alix* 2239
. . . que nunca nos lo dexe ensayar nin sentir *Alix* 2401
a los judios te dexeste prender *Cid* 347
dexósle prender al cuello *Cid* 3339
dexosle manear todo a derredor *Alix* 116
nunca dexarla quiso a otri tener *Alix* 2575

Exceptions to the use of direct and indirect objects are extremely rare:

. . . nol dexassen beuir *Alex* 331
non los dexa el miedo su derecho conplir *Alix* 2056

mandar.

The first position of the object (*los manda echar*, Cid 679), so common with *dexar* and *fazer*, is the least affected by *mandar*. In this position the infinitive is generally susceptible of passive interpretation. In the *Cid*, however, some instances of nouns standing before *mandar* may be considered as inversions of the position naturally assumed when the infinitive has the object (*Mandó librar el canpo*, Cid 3693). The inversion would then be made for the sake of the verse, or for emphasis.

pregón mandó echar *Cid* 1187
la quinta mandó tomar *Cid* 1216
conducho nos mandó dar *Cid* 1409
Conduchos largos el rey enbiar mandava *Cid* 1972
lo mandara criar *Mil* 569
lo mando todo far *Sac* 39

Also: *Cid* 679, 1878; *Loor* 89; *Mil* 233.

With intransitive infinitive:

. . . quel mandasse fablar *Alex* 35
a paso las manda yr *Alix* 74
me mandas fincar *SMill* 61

Also: *Alix* 803; *Mil* 480; *SDom* 89, 341.

The second position of the object (*mandaualo tomar*, Alex 938) is found most frequently with *mandar*, as with *fazer*, and readily permits a passive interpretation of the infinitive.

With transitive infinitive:

mandó mill marcos de plata a San Pero levar *Cid* 1285
mandólo recabdar *Cid* 1482
mandólo vedar *Cid* 2308
mandédesle tomar *Cid* 3515
Mando todas sus gentes . . . guarnir *Alix* 585
mando . . . vegilias tener *Alix* 551
mandaua tres ganados offrir *Sac* 73
Mandolo luego prender *Alix* 169
al rey Alixandre mandaualo tomar *Alix* 938
mandola . . . destroyr e quemar *Alix* 1581
mando al mensajero . . . rrica albriçia dar *Alix* 1962
mando las calentar *Alix* 2047
mandó ella el ninnuelo levar *Mil* 565
Mandól poner a letras *Mil* 577

Also: *Cid* 312, 1013, 1536; *Alex* 776, 779, 792, 938, 1670, 1681, 2049, 2072, 2091, 2154, 2200, 2270, 2274, 2367, 2404, 2584.

With intransitive infinitive:

Mandólos venir a la corth *Cid* 1263
a todos los sos estar los mandó *Cid* 2017
mandáronle ir adelante *Cid* 2766
mando lo yr *SDom* 19
manda amj alla entrar *SDom* 341
mando todos los monges uenjr al parlatorio *SDom* 447
Mandolis atender *Mil* 88
mandolas seyer quedas *Alix* 963

Also: *Sac* 125; *Alix* 963, 1267, 1575, 1631, 1953; *SMill* 5; *Loor* 144.

The word order most naturally employed when the infinitive takes the object is especially frequent with *mandar* (*mando*

traher el agua, SDom 394). This position of the object appeared less often than any other with *fazer*, while with *dexar* the number of instances was so small as to be negligible. The object here is found to be a noun in all the instances noted. This was probably quite as much a determining factor as any consciousness of the relation between infinitive and object, since the pronoun did not break the close connection of conjugated verb and infinitive object nearly so much as did the noun (*mandaualo tomar* and *mando todos los monges uenjr*, Alix 938 and SDom 447).

Mandad coger la tienda *Cid* 208
mandó veer sus yentes mio Çid *Cid* 417
Mandó partir tod aqueste aver *Cid* 510
mandó tornar la seña *Cid* 596
. . . que mandasse reçebir a esta conpaña *Cid* 1829
Mandaron cargar las azémilas *Cid* 2705
Mandó fazer candelas *Cid* 3055
mando traher el agua *SDom* 394
Mandó çebar al pobre *Loor* 50
Mandó creer un Dios *Loor* 88
Manda llamar los clerigos *SOria* 193
mando feryr pregones *Alix* 418, 437
mando pregonar Etor conçeio general *Alix* 578
mando mouer las hurestes, prender otras posadas *Alix* 304
Mando fer vnas letras *Alix* 762
Mando luego el rrey prender los mensaieros *Alix* 776
mandaron fer apriesa . . . saetas e quadrillos *Alix* 1074
mando tañer las tronpas e feryr las bozinas *Alix* 1275
mando prender . . . la su mesnada clara *Alix* 1328
mando traher las parias *Alix* 2560
mando fer el buen rey conçeio general *Alix* 2502
mando alçar los fumos *Alix* 2444
Mando poner la cadiella . . . *Alix* 1819
mandó . . . façer muy grant foguera *Mil* 848
Mandó tener a todos los dessa mayson *SMill* 189

A number of instances of *mandar* are noted with no object other than the infinitive expressed:

mando caualgar *Alix* 938, 1115, 1870
Mando ally cauar *Alix* 1152
Mando luego mouer *Alix* 1275
mandaua cridar que . . . *Alix* 2414 (*que* clause replacing object)
mandedes ensellar *Cid* 317

With two objects present, *mandar* shows several varieties of word order, the most frequent having both objects between *mandar* and its infinitive (thus permitting the infinitive to carry the rhyme):

mando luego a las compannas tomar sus armas *Cron* 71b49
mandoli tomar ordenes *SDom* 42
Mandástesme mover a Bavieca *Cid* 3513
mandaron les fazer cada unos sus sennales *Cron* 99b6
Mandádno'los ferir *Cid* 2364
mando [al] chanceller las letras escreuir *Alix* 792
Mando a todos muchas de las cañas prender *Alix* 2154
Mandó a los ministros la casulla traer *Mil* 71
mándovos los cuorpos ondradamientre vestir *Cid* 1871
Mandote cada dia un salmo reçitar *Mil* 262
Mandogelas . . . levar *Mil* 400
a todos sos varones mandó fazer una cárcava *Cid* 561
mando toller las armas a la gent suya lazrada *Alix* 1059
mando fincar las tiendas al su pueblo lazrado *Alix* 1892
Mandó mouer las naues á los naueadores *Alex* 228
Otro procurador non me mandes buscar *Mil* 797
Mandaron el cauallo a Dario caualgar *Alix* 1720
Mandóla a los angeles prender *Mil* 533
Mando luego la carta ditar al chançeller *Alix* 1963
lei lis mandaba tal sacrilegio far *Duelo* 31

Que acts as one of the objects in:

Sin muchas romerias que lis mandó andar *Mil* 400
Sin muchas oraçiones que lis mandó rezar *Mil* 400
Al que Sancta Maria lo mandó maestrar *Mil* 494
Quanto que Xpo manda creer a xpiano *Mil* 795

Le and *lis* are used instead of *lo* and *los* (one object only present):

mandáronle ir adelante *Cid* 2766
mandédesle tomar *Cid* 3515
. . . quel mandasse fablar *Alex* 35
mandol enpeçar *Alix* 36
mandolis atender *Mil* 88
Mandole . . . yr *Alix* 1575

The Pure Infinitive with Verbs of Sense Perception

19. Muller shows that in Folk Latin these verbs received in general the same treatment as *fazer*, taking the passive infinitive, and with it the dative of the agent or *ab* with the ablative: *videret exercitum . . . ab his cingi . . .*, Esp. Sagrad., t. VI, p. 552.

The active infinitive is found later with passive sense: *Et quidquid inibi Estiva conjugi meae habere videntur*, C. L., t. V, 906, 504.

In this section will be treated only *oyr* and *ver* for Old Spanish. Menéndez Pidal [1] classes *cuidar* with *ver* and *oyr*. This verb is better treated, however, under the group dealing with the mental processes, since its sense is much closer to that of *pensar* and *asmar* than to that of *oyr* and *ver*. *Oyr* occurs but rarely in comparison with *ver*.

oyr.

This verb conforms to the conditions stated above for *fazer*. All positions of the object are found with *oyr*, though in few instances each.

The object precedes *oyr:*

las oy yo tanner *SMill* 487
sy lo oyestes contar *Alix* 344, 999
sil oviestes contar *Cid* 2314

The object intervenes between *oyr* and the infinitive:

oyeron las gentes de la fuente rretraher *Alix* 2137
Oyeron un sonido del çielo desçender *Loor* 155; also *Sac* 125, 285

[1] *Cid* I, § 160, 4.

The object follows both verb forms in *SDom* 592, although here the infinitive is intransitive:

udio del buen confessor andar estos roydos

There are two objects present:

Odiemoslo dezir a los masançianos *SMill* 404
tu muert odi conssejar a ifantes de Carrión *Cid* 2670
a Isayas creo que las oy deçir *Loor* 96

Oyr is not infrequent without object, or with a *que* clause replacing the object:

Siempre oy deçir que . . . *SMill* 121
si oyestes contar . . . *SDom* 187
oyo dezir por nuebas dessa enfermedat *SDom* 405
nunca fablár odiestes de otros tan arteros *SDom* 479
commo odredes contar *Cid* 684
como oyemos dezir *Alix* 2271

ver, veer, veder (u-).

The bèst example of infinitives used with *ver* is found in *Cid* 726-730:

Veriedes tantas lanças premer e alçar,
tanta adágara foradar e passar,
tanta loriga falssar e desmanchar,
tantos pendones blancos salir vermejos en sangre,
tantos buenos cavallos sin sos dueños andar

and in *Cid* 1966-1969:

¿ quién vido por Castiella tanta mula preçiada,
e tanto palafré que bien anda,
cavallos gruessos e corredores sin falla,
tanto buen pendón meter en buenas astas, *etc.*

In these passages the comparatively detached condition of the infinitives is conspicuous. This will also be evident in many of the examples following. The union of the infinitive object with *oyr* and *ver* was clearly much looser than with *fazer*, etc. This will be further brought out in the discussion of passages having two objects. It is likewise to be noted that transitive infinitives with *ver* are rare.

The object precedes *ver:*

Tres reyes veo de moros derredor de mí estar *Cid* 637
quandol vieron assomar *Cid* 1393
por que me veades lidiar *Cid* 1653
tanto braço con loriga veriedes caer a part,
. . . cavallos sin dueños salir a todas partes *Cid* 2406
lo vieron entrar *Cid* 3107
le veo lazrar *Loor* 89
Todas estas mezquindades que te veo sofrir *Loor* 96
los veyen groñir *Alix* 2049

Also: *Cid* 1141, 1645; *SOria* 86; *Alix* 449, 465, 673, 1230, 1330, 1859, 1975, 2042, 2049, 2165, 2234.

The object stands between *ver* and the infinitive:

Si viéredes yentes venir *Cid* 388
Mala cueta es . . . fijos e mugieres veer los murir de fanbre *Cid* 1179
Veriedes cavalleros venir de todas partes *Cid* 1415
veerme an lidiar *Cid* 1641
Víolos venir *Cid* 2772
uio al diçiplo seyer tan sin color *Alix* 34
vio vna serpiente con dos aguilas lidiar *Alix* 390
veo aSant Martin çerca de mj estar *SDom* 695
Veol por mi morir *Loor* 78

Other examples of this position: *Cid* 919, 1141, 1393, 1645, 1653, 2400, 2413; *SOria* 142; *Alix* 55, 524, 1091, 1397, 1824, 1967, 2071, 2203, 2210, 2366, 2468, 2469, 2568; *SMill* 357; *SLaur* 63; *Loor* 173, 179; *Mil* 279, 490, 598, 599, 600, 674; *Duelo* 48; *Sig* 19; *SDom* 393, 644.

The object stands after the infinitive (even here the transitive infinitive is rarely met):

Quando vido mio Çid asomar a Minaya *Cid* 919
veriedes crebar tantas cuerdas *Cid* 2400
vido venir a Díago e a Fernando *Cid* 2440
. . . fasta que viesse venir sus primas amas a dos *Cid* 2770
Vio arder la lámpada *SMill* 335
Vedia correr sangre *Duelo* 49
Vido sobir los angeles *SOria* 42

Also: *Alix* 2320, 2467; *Loor* 136, 210; *Mil* 592, 604, 734.

Ver and infinitive, when two objects are present, depart from the closely observed custom with *fazer*, etc. of making the agent the indirect object instead of the direct.

> Veriedes cavalleros, que bien andantes son,
> besar las manos, espedirse de rey Alfons *Cid* 2159

Here the intervention of a *que* clause between *cavalleros* and *besar* may have made *Veriedes cavalleros* sufficiently independent so that the presence of the second object *manos* was neglected. The same condition is noted in *Cid* 1228, where *barata* is made the actual object of *ver* and the construction is split, both intended objects being made direct:

> en el passar de Xucar i veriédes barata,
> moros en arruenço amidos bever agua

The *Cid* also apparently neglects the presence of *se* as an object, and makes the agent with *ver* direct, whether such an agent is personal or not:

> Aquí veriedes quexarse ifantes de Carrión! *Cid* 3207
> veriedes armarse moros *Cid* 697
> veriedes . . . arrancarse las estacas e acostarse los tendales *Cid* 2400

Accepted instances of regularity are noted in:

> Todas estas mezquindades que te veo sofrir *Loor* 96
> veye al proximo bien aver o litiçia *Alix* 2329

Even these are not entirely satisfactory as examples of regular treatment, since in the first case the personal object *te*, and in the second *al proximo*, can hardly be considered more definitely indirect in form than direct.

Thus out of 7 instances of *ver* and infinitive with two objects, it is shown that none is a perfect case of regularity according to the use of objects with *fazer*, while at least 5 are definitely exceptions to such use. It is evident, therefore, that *ver* had by this time departed considerably from the use of the group with which it had been associated in the Vulgar Latin period.

Doubtless this condition accompanied the looseness of construction that is to be noted in so many of the citations above. The dependence of the infinitive on *ver* being so slight as to permit whole clauses to intervene, a resultant laxness in the use of direct and indirect objects is only to be expected, since a consciousness of the principle involved would vary almost in proportion to the closeness of construction.

As the one object present, *le* is used in:

El que manda todo esto por mi le veo lazrar *Loor* 89
quandol vió venir *Loor* 44
Veol por mi morir *Loor* 78
quandol vieron assomar *Cid* 1393

The use of the personal *a* is interesting in *Verán a las estrellas caer de su logar*, Sig 19.

The Pure Infinitive with Verbs of Permitting and Forbidding

20. The members of this group are in sense closely related to the *fazer* group just discussed. In syntactical treatment they resemble rather the verbs taking the ordinary construction of indirect object of person and direct object of thing: *otorgouos lo yo*, Alix 1590. There are not enough instances of any of these verbs, however, to permit any detailed study of them, since none occurs more than twice. *Consentir* alone is found with the regular two objects present. *Dexa* might well replace *Lexa* in *Lexa estar*, Cron 43b35. For the *de*-infinitive with this group, see p. 129.

comendar.

comiendo la my madre servirla *Alix* 2599

consentir.

The prepositional infinitives with *de* and *en* are also noted with *consentir*.

non les consintie fer las cosas vedadas *Mil* 510
consentielis en cabo complir sus voluntades *Alix* 2571

lexar (probably has the same provenience as *dexar:* see Körting, *Lat. rom. Wörterbuch*, 2910, 5491; Gröber, *Arch. für lat. Lex.*, III, pp. 509, 510; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, p. 417).

The preposition *de* may introduce the infinitive with *lexar*.

Lexa estar *Cron* 43b35

sufrir.

commo la deslealdat et la suziedat de aquella yente desleal lo sufre seer entre si *Cron* 721b48

vedar.

viédales exir e viédales entrar *Cid* 1205
viedanos él matar *Loor* 89

THE PURE INFINITIVE WITH VERBS OF MOTION

21. Lachmund [1] discusses the pure infinitive with the verbs of motion thus: "Am reinsten hat sich der reine Infinitiv in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung und Stellung erhalten bei den Verba der Bewegung . . . Der Infinitiv steht hier zur Bezeichnung des Zwecks." Although a literal interpretation of the first statement would not be quite accurate, since the purest use of the pure infinitive is rather that of subject or object, at which times it most clearly shows its dual nature of noun and verb, in the main Lachmund's points are well made. Meyer-Lübke [2] shows that *ire* and *venire* could take the pure infinitive in Latin, and that thus used it expressed *goal*. From its current appearance with *ire* and *venire*, the most common verbs of motion, it spread to the other verbs of the group until in Old Spanish it became one of the most frequent of the infinitive constructions. Not merely were other intransitive verbs of motion affected, but also transitives (*enbiar*, *dereçer*, *guiar*) and reflexives (*adelantarse*, *leuantarse*, etc.). By analogy with these, the pure infinitive might be used with such reflexives as *trabaiarse*, where the concept of

[1] *Ueber den Gebrauch des reinen und präpositionalen Infinitivs im Altfranzösischen*, p. 5. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 253.

[2] *Gram.* III, § 503.

motion was figurative and remote. *Goal* is the function naturally ascribed to the infinitive with verbs of motion (see Lachmund and Meyer-Lübke above), since *motion* implies a *goal;* yet it should be noted that this concept delicately merges into that of *purpose*. A predominance of one or the other, however, is usually not difficult to sense (e.g. *goal* in *Vayamos posar*, Cid 1531, and *purpose* in *descendio morar a los llanos*, Cron 467b50. This *purpose* sense in the pure infinitive permits clausal dependence in such cases as *deçendio al Infierno su pleitó rrecabdar*, Alix 2311; *Por entrar a la missa la confession façer*, Mil 71; for instances with *a*, *por*, *pora* and *para* see pp. 159, 209, 233, 235. The same conditions are noted in these verbs with the *a*-infinitive, for the construction with *a* came gradually to replace the pure infinitive in these uses. Even at the period of our texts the class with *a* is considerably the larger, though all the common verbs of motion take both modes of expression (*desçender*, *entrar*, *exir*, *yr*, *tornar*, *venir*, etc.). Probably the reason why the pure infinitive came to be abandoned by this group except with the most frequent verbs was the fact that the pure infinitive was not definite, while the construction with *a* was both definite and emphatic. Confusion was conceivable with the pure construction, but with *a* practically the only senses that could be expressed were the very ones associated with these verbs (*goal* and *purpose*).

(a) *Intransitive Verbs*

descender.

This verb also takes *a*, *por* and *pora* with the infinitive. More of purpose than of goal is expressed here:

descendio morar a los llanos *Cron* 467b50

entrar.

The infinitives with *a*, *por*, *pora* and *para* are also noted with *entrar*.

Ante que a las parias entremos resçebir *Alix* 2503
Entró el sacristano el sepulcro catar *SMill* 335
Entró fer oraçion el novio refrescado *Mil* 338

Al Criador rogar not infrequently depends on a *goal* clause:

El padre cordoioso entró a su altar,
commo era usado al criador rogar *SDom* 366
Entró a la eglesia al Criador rogar *SDom* 425
entro el ala iglesia, al Criador rogar *SDom* 300

exir.

The prepositions *a* and *por* are also found with *exir* and infinitive.

exien lo veer mugieres e varones *Cid* 16

yr.

The most frequent verb of motion in Old Spanish is *yr*. Mentioned by Meyer-Lübke along with *venir* as being the starting-point for the development of the pure infinitive with verbs of motion in Latin, it maintained, if it did not increase, the varieties of its usefulness. It occurs commonly in all texts and takes all the prepositions that express *goal* or *purpose* (*a*, *por*, *pora*, *para*). Menéndez Pidal, after pointing out that verbs of motion, now regularly requiring a preposition, were used in the *Cid* with pure infinitive, states that from indicating motion toward something *ir* came to express *intention* like *querer*. He further says that *la manol va besar*, Cid 369, is in sense identical with *quísol besar las manos*, Cid 265. From this point the *yr* construction becomes for Menéndez Pidal a useless paraphrase, because "no supone que el deseo deje de estar seguido de la realización del acto deseado, sino generalmente lo contrario." [1]

The main steps in the weakening of *yr* are well brought out by Menéndez Pidal, but the statement that the *yr* construction becomes a useless paraphrase, which he also remarks for *querer*, *mandar*, *fazer*, *tornar* and others, appears too sweeping to be valid. According to this point of view it would seem that, as soon as an infinitive construction becomes especially frequent, it degenerates into uselessness. The difference between complete and almost complete disappearance of sense in *yr* with

[1] *Cid* I, § 160.

infinitive is probably just the difference between almost complete and complete accuracy in Menéndez Pidal's remark. Why should not some slight sense of *yr* remain in even the weakest of its uses? The same scholar says that *vayamos caualgar* is equivalent to *cavalguemos*, and *vayades passar* to *passedes*.[1] A similar and quite as current a construction is at hand in the French *allons chanter*. But *allons chanter* is not exactly equivalent to *chantons* any more than *vayamos caualgar* is exactly equivalent to *caualguemos*. If nothing more, *vayamos* and *allons* give an emphasis, a force, an *inception* to the action that is quite lost in the simple imperative. If the language were to be denuded of such expressions as this, in which the original strength has been largely lost, many fine and delicate shades of thought would have to go with them because of the lack of an appropriate vehicle. The above is not intended as a criticism of Menéndez Pidal's main points, but merely as a suggestion against a too literal interpretation of his statements concerning equivalence.

It is interesting to note that *andar*, which is in modern times naturally associated with *yr*, does not occur with pure infinitive object in the texts studied, and only rarely with *a*.

The presence of the reflexive pronoun with normally intransitive verbs of motion is to be occasionally remarked (cf. *Cid* 772: *El rey Fariz en Teruel se fue entrar*).

Examples of *yr* and infinitive:

la manol ban besar *Cid* 298
El Çid a doña Ximena ívala abraçar *Cid* 368
ellos ivan posar *Cid* 415
vayámoslos ferir *Cid* 676
la seña va tomar *Cid* 692
indos conseguir *Cid* 833
id a mio Çid buscar *Cid* 898
valo abraçar sin falla *Cid* 920
hiremos veer aquella su almofalla *Cid* 1124
quien quiere ir comigo çercar a Valençia *Cid* 1192

[1] *Cid* I, § 160, 3.

vos ídgelos levar *Cid* 1274
vos vayades passar *Cid* 1462
Vayamos posar *Cid* 1531
hir los hemos fferir *Cid* 1690
Mandaronme que fuese albergar con Johan *Duelo* 159
Nin vaian esta noche visitar las uxores *Duelo* 175
Fueron abrazarla *SOria* 64
Yt arder en el fuego *Sig* 32
Vaia yaçer con Iudas *Mil* 245
Iba . . . la esposa prender *Mil* 336
mando lo yr el padre las oueias guardar *SDom* 19
yre buscar do biua contra Estremadura *SDom* 180
Fue aSancto Domjngo merçed li demandar *SDom* 579
a Dios se fo acomendar *Cid* 411
fústed meter tras la viga lagar *Cid* 3365
fo besar la mano a so señor Alfons *Cid* 3512

Also: *Cid* 369, 400, 401, 402, 547, 553, 655, 694, 707, 718, 752, 1137, 1203, 1369, 1505, 1516, 1628, 1696, 1718, 1762, 1951, 2092, 2216, 2235, 2328, 2381, 2384, 2395, 2627, 2653, 2672, 2817, 2858, 2876, 2879, 2888, 3021, 3053, 3318, 3361, 3572; *Alix* 165, 174, 284, 386, 419, 464, 514, 562, 572, 623, 665, 677, 755, 803, 875, 986, 997, 1072, 1089, 1091, 1110, 1115, 1120, 1127, 1136, 1166, 1278, 1316, 1360, 1528, 1541, 1552, 1664, 1690, 1702, 1704, 1756, 1789, 1859, 1899, 1920, 1925, 1947, 2179, 2613, 2627, 2628; *Mil* 343, 398, 400, 546, 547, 636, 654, 691, 730, 732, 759, 760, 761, 819, 840; *SOria* 123; *SDom* 97, 559, 574; *SLaur* 29, 33; *SMill* 5, 140, 192, 231, 234, 272, 278, 352, 356, 417; *Cron* 4b54, 9a18, 10a45, 10b50, 13b28, 14a10, 14b33, 16b22, etc., etc.

llegar.

The pure infinitive is found with *llegar* only once, while the prepositional constructions with *a* and *pora* are not infrequent. *Llegar* had a successful rival in *uuiar* which took the pure infinitive regularly and with approximately the same sense (cf. *uuiar* below). There may be absorption of *a* by *ayudar* in this case:

llego ayudar a sacar el cuerpo (ref. lost)

pasar.

Other infinitive constructions of *pasar* have *a*, *por* and *pora*. It is not frequent in any construction.

pasaron veer los de la otra parte *Cron* 766b11

sal(l)ir.

The most noteworthy fact concerning *salir* is the predominance of the locution *salir reçebir*. Other infinitives are rare. This locution also occurs commonly with *a*. In general use *salir* takes *a*, *por* and *pora* with its infinitive.

reçebirlos sale *Cid* 297
Saliólos reçebir *Cid* 487
Saliólos reçebir *Cid* 1478
reçibir salien las dueñas *Cid* 1583
reçibir lo salen *Cid* 2015
saliólos reçebir *Cid* 2649
Salieron resçibirla *SOria* 63
Salieron resçibirla *SOria* 64
sallieron rresçebir lo *Alex* 1516
salleron rresçebir lo *Alex* 1518
salieron los recebir *Cron* 221b26.

Other locutions than *salir reçebir*:

salieron lidiar con los romanos *Cron* 30a53
salgamos lidiar *Cron* 596a39
le saldre yo dar fazienda *Cron* 605a33
salieran correr *Cron* 743b52

tornar.

The prepositions *a*, *por*, *pora* and *para* are found with *tornar* and infinitive. Menéndez Pidal states[1] that "tornar no expresa, como propiamente debiera, un sentido iterativo, y no da matiz alguno especial al verbo simple." Exception might be taken to the words "como propiamente debiera" (since *tornar* may express *to turn* or *to return to the doing*), and to "no da matiz alguno . . ." The same reasoning applies to *tornar* as to *yr* above, concerning which Menéndez Pidal

[1] *Cid* I, § 160, [2.

says approximately the same thing. The *iterative* sense is clear in *Cron* 270a5: *pidiol quel diesse caualleros con que tornasse otra uez lidiar con aquellos reuellados.*

(h)uuiar, vuiar.

This verb, as an intransitive, is a rival of *llegar* with infinitive, and is assigned the sense of the latter by Menéndez Pidal.[1] Like *llegar* it also takes the infinitive with *a* (cf. French related locution *arriver à* with infinitive). Like *mouer*, it is also used as a transitive and reflexive (in the sense of *to aid*, etc.). It is a notable fact that only the *Alixandre* and the *Crónica* yield examples of *uuiar* and infinitive. In instances such as *apenas lo uuiauan saber aquellos contra que yuan ni apercebir se dello*, Cron 45b40, it is evidently the infinitive that takes the object, and not *uuiar*, in spite of the juxtaposition of the latter.

el no la uuio acabar ante de su muert *Cron* 9b13
no lo uuiara complir *Cron* 39a53
apenas lo uuiauan saber aquellos contra que yuan ni apercebir se dello *Cron* 45b40
no lo uuiaron saber las gentes *Cron* 45b52
non gelo uuiaran fazer saber *Cron* 49b6
ante que lo uuiasse fazer, llego poder de Costantino *Cron* 181b12
uuio escapar *Cron* 330a31
huuiaron uenir *Cron* 445b46
ante que la hueste . . . huuiasse posar nin llegar *Cron* 456b6
se non huuio el componer pora salir a ellos *Cron* 468a24
ante que la mano huuiasse llegar al Çid *Cron* 642b28
non huuiaron alcançar fuera *Cron* 759b52
abes vuiauan Atrouos los fillos desordir *Alix* 1103
en Bracta vuiaron asomar *Alix* 2164
ante que los vuiase ihu xristo saluar *Alix* 2400

Also: *Cron* 96b44, 637b23, 744b53, 745a18, 753b25, 756b3, 757a2, 764b40, 765a1, 765a35, 765a37.

venir (u–).

As mentioned above, *venire* shared with *ire* the distinction of being the starting point of the infinitive construction with

[1] *Cid* II, *huuiar*.

verbs of motion. In Old Spanish these two verbs are still the most frequent and representative members of their group. Considerably less weakening of sense is to be noted in *venir* with infinitive than in *yr*, discussed above. The essential difference between the two verbs was not always rigidly observed however.[1] The prepositional constructions with *a*, *por*, and *pora* are found with *venir*.

te vinieron adorar *Cid* 336
Vino mio Cid yazer a Spinaz de Can *Cid* 393
vino posar sobre Alcoçer *Cid* 630
los uino saluar *Sac* 53
vinieron grandes gentes la fiesta çelebrar *Sac* 68
yo ati vin buscar *SDom* 341
me ujenes guarir *SDom* 658
nos vino salvar *SOria* 1
vinolo combidar *Mil* 134
Ven tastar *Mil* 730
Tienpo serie e ora que nos vengas valer *Alix* 597
vino al rrey colpar *Alix* 2029
venie beuer al rrio *Alix* 2159
vinieron todas veyerlo *Alix* 2301
vienelo rreçebir *Alix* 2367
los antipades quiere venir buscar *Alix* 2418
Vynien çercar a Troya *Alix* 2536
vinie rrobar el mundo *Alix* 2566

Also: *Cid* 532, 644, 646, 651, 981, 1071, 1076, 1099, 1105, 1183, 1208, 1224, 1475, 1476, 1498, 2312, 2371, 3114b, 3131; *Duelo* 102; *SOria* 33, 132, 142, 150, 193; *Loor* 3; *Sac* 271, 289; *SDom* 362, 427, 618; *Mil* 512, 738, 862; *SMill* 17, 286, 307, 398, 454; *SLaur* 84; *Alix* 194, 217, 264, 695, 747, 929, 931, 1210, 1738, 1863, 1864.

(b) *Transitive Verbs*

In Otto's study, these verbs do not form a group by themselves. It seems evident, however, that to make the groups already treated under the pure infinitive object absorb even

[1] See Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* II, *venir*.

these few verbs would be doing violence to the syntactical uses of those groups. With the following verbs the infinitive expresses clearly the concept of *goal*, a concept which in some instances merges into that of *purpose*, but which is quite distinct from that of object with verbs of *wishing*, *permitting*, etc., etc. There may be two objects present, as in the *fazer* group, but there is always this concept of *goal* to be felt, which is entirely lacking in the *fazer* construction. Thus the function of the infinitive with these transitives is found to be the same as with the intransitives just discussed (e.g. *goal* being equally evident in *enuiaronlo dezir*, Cron 374a17, and in *vayamoslos ferir*, Cid 676).

The verbs of this group also take *a*, *pora* and *para* with the infinitive. *Pora* and *para* give an increased sense of *purpose* or *goal*, but *a* adds little not already present in the pure infinitive (*Enbio end poderes . . . conqueryr Capadoçia*, Alix 821; *quando alguno enuiauan a conquerir tierra*, Cron 24b1; . . . *quel enbiassen ballesteros et peones pora conbater a Valencia*, Cron 576a22). The prepositional construction is more frequent with these transitive verbs of motion than that without preposition.

aiudar (ay–).

Pora-infinitive also occurs with *aiudar*, but the most frequent construction has *a*. Possibility of absorption of *a* is to be noted in these two cases:

> Si Dios nos aiudara fer una remembranza *Duelo* 44
> si aquel fecho le ayudassen acabar *Cron* 584b14

dereçer.

The possibility of *a embedida* in this example is also evident (though no cases of *dereçer a* with infinitive are at hand):

> tan bien me dereçeste mi cosa acabar *Alix* 2563

enbiar (emb–, env–, enu–).

This is the most current verb of the transitive class. The basic concept of *goal* imperceptibly merges into that of *purpose*

(*enuiolo dezir a su hermano*, Cron 251a52, and *los enuio Cristo semnar la bendiçion*, Sac 41). Generally more of *purpose* is to be felt than of *goal*, however. The locution *enbiar dezir* is especially common without specific agent and with the passive object (often *lo*, referring to something already mentioned) standing between *enbiar* and the infinitive: *Pues que el ouo esto fecho enbiolo dezir a Alhacan*, Cron 351b41. *Enbiar* also takes *a*, *por* and *pora* with the infinitive.

Enbio end poderes . . . conqueryr Capadoçia *Alix* 821
Embio sue fazienda dezir a castellanos *SMill* 413
Embio un su omne . . . Aduçir los vestidos *SDom* 482
Envio dos calonges . . . Probar esto *Mil* 568
Embio esso misme deçir a alaveses *SMill* 414
enuiaronlo assi dezir a Theoderico . . . *Cron* 243a46
enuio el rey Amalarigo dezir all emperador . . . *Cron* 251b25
enuiaronlo dezir a Bernaldo *Cron* 374a17
enuiaronlo dezir al rey *Cron* 375a25

Also: *Cron* 251b52, 329a16, 380a39, 380a52, 381a8, etc.

guiar.

This is a normal transitive verb of motion, demonstrating the element of *goal* more clearly than *enbiar*. Only two instances of the verb with pure infinitive occur, however, and both come from the *Milagros*. No prepositional occurrences of *guiar* with infinitive are noted in these texts.

nos guie fer cosas por ond salvos seamos *Mil* 582
El que guió a Judas façer el mal mercado *Mil* 871

mouer.

The regular construction of *mouer* is with *a*. Its use is as transitive, intransitive and reflexive with that preposition. In the following instance, the first *a* is evidently the personal accusative sign, but may have influenced the omission of *a* just before the infinitive.

mouio a este Yuçaf Abentexefin passar a España *Cron* 557a23

(c) *Reflexive Verbs*

Reflexive verbs of motion as a class, when taking the infinitive to indicate the *goal* or the *purpose* of an action, usually take the prepositional constructions rather than the pure infinitive. The connection of finite verb and infinitive is not felt to be as close as with *yr*, *venir*, etc. *Purpose*, rather than *goal*, is the predominating function of the infinitive. In the citations below, all from poetical works, the preposition may have been voluntarily omitted for metrical reasons, the pure infinitive and that with *a* being sufficiently equivalent with such verbs.

adelantarse.

adelantauase Simacus el colpe rresçebir *Alex* 1998

levantarse.

Infinitive constructions with *a*, *de*, *por* and *pora* are also found.

Levantose est monge rezar la matinada,
Tanner a los matines, despertar la mesnada,
Enderezar las lampadas, allumnar la posada *Mil* 288

trabaiarse.

More frequent infinitive constructions with *de*, *por* and *en* are noted with *trabaiarse*.

rogar te quiero . . . que tu non te trauages tanto me persegujr *SDom* 696

vezarse.

The constructions with *de* and *a* are also found. Absorption of *a* may have been operative in this instance:

se veza aprender *Alix* 2243

THE INDEPENDENT PURE INFINITIVE

22. Meyer-Lübke[1] gives three classes of propositions in which the infinitive is the only verb present; interrogative, exclamatory, and imperative propositions. The reason for the lack of a finite form of the verb is that the person speaking is thinking in very general terms, and not of one individual as

[1] *Gram.* III, § 528.

such; hence he employs the general form of preposition, as in *Pourquoi pleurer? Why weep?* Such sentences usually have the value of negative propositions, *Pourquoi pleurer?* meaning that there is no cause for weeping.

Diez [1] states that the independent infinitive can be used in lively discourse, to give rapid orders, summon help, etc. Thus the speaker gets to the goal of his thought more quickly than if the personal form were used. Meyer-Lübke mentions the same classes of independent infinitive propositions as Diez.

The historical infinitive of Latin is said by Diez to have no application in the Romance languages. Only French knows an analogous construction, where the rapid beginning of an action is expressed by *de* with the infinitive. Diez considered that these were not cases of ellipsis, but resulted from the natural tendency to substitute the prepositional for the pure infinitive. This point of view is interesting because Luker [2] in his Columbia University dissertation on the historical infinitive in French, has brought a considerable body of evidence together to prove just the contrary, viz. that ellipsis is the process involved in the French construction, and that the frequency of use of *penser de* in the required senses justified the omission of *penser*.

Our texts offer so few examples of the independent infinitive in any of the categories mentioned by Diez and Meyer-Lübke that they may be considered as highly sporadic. *Mil* 889 offers a case closely resembling the historical infinitive:

> Fueron luego venidos grant turma de peones,
> Entraron en la iglesia, trovaron los ladrones,
> Manetraronlos luego commo vinien fellones,
> Darles grandes feridas con muy grandes bastones

Menéndez Pidal's remark for the Cid might be extended to include our other texts as well: *Se rechaza del Cantar el uso del infinitivo con valor de imperativo.*[3] In *Alix* 2435 (Morel-

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 203, § 4. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 255.
[2] Luker: *The Use of the Infinitive instead of a Finite Verb in French.*
[3] *Cid* I, § 157.

Fatio) appears, however, the infinitive *guardarte*, rendered by Janer in *Alex* 2293 as the imperative form *guardate*:

> Quieres toller del mundo vna grant claredat,
> quieres tornar a Gresçia a grant tenebredat,
> traydor, por que amas tan fiera maluestat?
> guardarte que non fagas con Belsus hermandat!

The infinitive in exclamations is illustrated by *Sac* 75:

> Torno a sus discipulos que sedien en ardura,
> Confortolos e dixoles ¡ Dormir, auet folgura!

and in *Duelo* 178–190, occurs the unique refrain *eya velar!* with both exclamatory and imperative force:

> *Cantica.* Eya velar, eya velar, eya velar.
> 178. Velat aliama de los iudios, eya velar:
> Que non vos furten el Fijo de Dios, eya velar.
> 179. Ca furtarvoslo querran, eya velar:
> Andres e Peidro et Iohan, eya velar.
> 180. Non sabedes tanto descanto, eya velar:
> Que salgades de so el canto, eya velar.
> 181. Todos son ladronçiellos, eya velar:
> Que assechan por los pestiellos, eya velar.
> 182. Vuestra lengua tan palabrera, eya velar:
> A vos dado mala carrera, eya velar, *etc.*, *etc.*

THE PURE INFINITIVE DEPENDENT ON RELATIVE PARTICLES, ETC.

The Infinitive Depending on the Relative and Interrogative Pronouns

23. Meyer-Lübke[1] in discussing the infinitive with the relative and interrogative pronouns states that all the Romance languages have equivalents of *non habeo quod* with infinitive. French is said to add *de* after mistaking *que* for the conjunction, *e.g. si n'i ot que de l'avaler*. But the construction is much more common in the West. Meyer-Lübke cites examples having the infinitive dependent on *por do, como* and *donde*, as well

[1] *Gram.* III, § 676.

as *que*. In explaining the phenomenon of the infinitive with the relative, he takes the Italian *Non ho que mangiare*, which he considers as a fusion of *Non ho que mangi* and *Non ho a mangiare*. Stress of emotion is blamed for the loss of grammatical correctness.

Menéndez Pidal[1] remarks on this subject: "*Además del verbo, también rige infinitivo sin preposición el relativo, ó la partícula interrogativa. El infinitivo se halla en vez del subjuntivo, no sólo tras 'que' . . . sino tras 'quien'.*"

Diez adds that the infinitive in these phrases is "*complexif*," i.e. it is construed immediately with the relative or interrogative particle, but can refer to a direct object preceding, as in *buscais mentiras que decir, teneis dineros que gastar*, etc. Diez finds the only difference between *non so que fare* and *non so fare questa cosa* to be the order of words. According to him, the infinitive depends on the finite verb, and the relative or interrogative comes to separate the two. There is no ellipsis of a verb in a finite mode, on which the infinitive could depend. Diez finds the construction of early Vulgar Latin origin, giving various examples such as *non habent quid respondere*, etc.

The popularity of the infinitive so employed became strong in the West, as remarked by Meyer-Lübke. This is especially true of Old Spanish where the variety of its uses is quite striking. Otto, for the Portuguese of Camões, does not discuss in detail the cases he notes, but cites about twenty illustrations of the principle, practically all of them being with *que*. The other relatives and interrogatives were evidently either lacking or extremely rare. Old Spanish offers a much richer field, with greater latitude in the choice of the determining particles, and with fewer restrictions in the circumstances of their use.

(a) **Que** *with Various Verbs*

Several verbs are found with the relative and interrogative particle *que* taking the infinitive form, chief of which verbs is *auer*. Though current in most of the texts of this period,

[1] *Cid* I, § 160, [5. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 254.

auer que occurs less often in the *Cid* than *saber que* with infinitive. Sometimes there is the double object construction, as noted by Diez: *Tant avien que veer en esta pestilençia*, SMill 210, but this is by no means as common as that without the second object. The element of *necessity* gradually comes to be noticed in the locutions *auer que* and *tener que*, when the origin of the constructions has been forgotten (see *auer*, *auer a* and *auer de* with infinitive object, expressing *necessity*, etc.)

auer (see **auer**, *Cid* II).

por en avemos qué fablar *Cid* 344
abrien que veer *Cid* 3100
Por ond de la su Madre oviessen que fablar *Mil* 441
Avia que vistir, avia que calzar,
Avia pora mi, avia pora dar *Mil* 760
. . . que aian que planner *Duelo* 96
heuos yo que gradir mucho *Alix* 191
mucho ay que far *Alix* 517
avremos y que fer *Alix* 597
non auie que fer de tal algomeria *Alix* 801
los vnos e los otros auien pro que veyer *Alix* 1102
de la mi couardia avien que rretrayer *Alix* 1302
avran . . . de nos que fablar *Alix* 1323
aurie en otra guisa tres dias bien que far *Alix* 1414
ouieron todos en lo al que veyer *Alix* 1559
non ayas que temer *Alix* 2082
avrie pro que veyer *Alix* 2211
sienpre ha que plorar *Alix* 2239
auie el rrey mucho mas que fablar *Alix* 2273
non han que veyer *Alix* 2374
avremos que dezir *Alix* 2412
avrel que gradeçir *Alix* 2503
auemos vna estonda asaz que deportar *Alix* 2512

fallar.

fallauan que comer *Cron* 134a38
. . . porque . . . fallasse ell algo que leuar del *Cron* 137a47

saber.

Diez remarks the prevalence of *saber* with the interrogative pronoun and infinitive. Meyer-Lübke makes special mention

of the negative of *saber*, where the emotion of the speaker is made to account for the use of the general form of the verb instead of the specific and finite form: thus in English *I don't know what to do!* instead of *I do not know what I should do.* Examples of the positive *saber que* with infinitive are extremely rare. The use of the ethical dative *se* is noted frequently. The infinitive in all cases is found to be *far*, *fer*, or *fazer*, thus paralleling the English expression cited above.

Non sabia con grant ira que fer el diablado *Mil* 361
non se sabien que fer *Mil* 396
non sopo al que fer *SDom* 331
Non sopo con la cueyta Menalao que fer *Alix* 472
non sabe qué se far *Cid* 370
miedo an en Valençia que no saben qué se far *Cid* 1155
non sabent ques far *Cid* 1174
sabed qué fer dellos, Campeador *Cid* 2124
sabredes qué fer oy *Cid* 3150
nin sabien que se fer *Alix* 2043
nin se sabian ya que fazer *Cron* 746a30
non sabemos al que fazer *Cron* 390b21
non sabien que se fazer ant el *Cron* 375b44
non sabien que se fazer *Cron* 415a20
non sabie que se fazer *Cron* 559a38
non sabie que se fazer *Cron* 566a26

ser.

esto es sobre todo a los dioses que gradir *Alix* 926

tener.

The lack of necessity in *tener que* is to be remarked in these examples:

aun por que quisiesse non ternia que dar *SDom* 176
Aun asaz tenia cosas que vos deçir *SOria* 175
El non tenie que darlis *SMill* 239
non lis tenie que dar *SMill* 254
sy toujesse que dar *SDom* 363

ver.

todos ueyen en el que alabar et que cobdiçiar de bien pora si *Cron* 692b15

(b) *Prepositions with* que *and the Infinitive*

In contrast with the Portuguese of Camões, and probably surpassing the other Romance languages in freedom of employment, Old Spanish offers quite a number of prepositions used with *que* and infinitive. There is a sufficient group of examples to indicate that the construction was a well recognized one, including the six prepositions *a, con, de, en, por* and *sobre*. The preposition is evidently determined by the infinitive following, as in *sobre que contender, en que trauar, a que se tornar*, etc. *Por que* is noted most frequently, and because of this fact comes later to be felt as a unit.

a.

non auian a que se tornar *Cron* 571a50
non sabie a que catar *Cron* 656b21
nin sabien a que tornar *Alex* 2043

con.

el non tenie y estrumentos de fierro ni de al con que lo fazer *Cron* 64b24
Non ovo nul conseio con que se defender *Mil* 146
non auiendo con quel tener *Cron* 517a33

de.

no tenie de que quitarlo *Cron* 205b20
non auien de que se crobir *Cron* 312b39
auien de que comprar que calçassen *Cron* 492a14
. . . dond ouiessen de que se calçar los que la eglesia siruiessen *Cron* 492a17
non auien de que conprarlo *Cron* 588a17

en.

The three examples of *en que* with infinitive show *trauar* as determining the preposition. They are found in the *Crónica* only.

por que non le ayan los omnes en quel trauar *Cron* 419a39
deuedes . . . catar que non fagades cosa que uos ayan los omnes en que trauar *Cron* 421b28
non fallan los omnes buenos que en las sus barraganias fallen en que trauar *Cron* 511b17

por.

vos he porque reptar *Duelo* 128
no auien por que matarse ni por que lazrar *Cron* 9b47
no auien por que labrar *Cron* 13a7
no as por que me querer mal *Cron* 43a28
. . . que non aya ninguno porque me escarnir *SOria* 185
non auemos nos por que matarle *Cron* 164a36
et que dalli adelante non ouiesse por que se leuantar contienda entrellos *Cron* 367b39
rey, non as por que tener ninguno destos *Cron* 411b24
nin ouo mester de fazer batallas, nin por que husar de fecho de armas *Cron* 425a31

sobre.

Contender causes the use of *sobre* with *que* in these two instances:

Quiero my firmamiento ante todos poner
que despues non ayades sobre que contender *Alix* 2598
. . . por que non ouiessen sobre que contender *Cron* 367b30

Other Relative and Interrogative Particles than Que

24. The high favor in which infinitive constructions were held in Old Spanish is evidenced by their frequency of use with relatives and interrogatives other than *que*. The most striking fact in this connection is the variety of prepositional modification noted: *a don, por do, por o, con qui, a quien* and *con quien*, all with the infinitive.

com(m)o, cuemo.

There is a *causal* force in *como* with the infinitive in *Cron* 70b27: *entendieron que aquella batalla cibdadana era, e mas que cibdadana como seer ellos todos parientes unos con otros.* Otherwise, *como* is used with infinitive as the second member of the comparative construction *tanto . . . como* (positive degree). The comparative degree, *mas . . . que*, likewise takes the infinitive: *querien mas moryr que beujr aontados*, Alix 1405.

The use of *tanto . . . como* (Eng. *tantamount to*) in definitions is illustrated in the last two citations below.

Qual bien seria tan grande commo la cara suya veer,
Commo nasçe el fijo del padre entender,
O commo salle el Spiritu de entre ambos saber,
O commo son un Dios todos tres connosçer *Loor* 189
. . . tan buena cosa cuemo seer desuergonçado *Cron* 117a16
restolarla es tanto como «conbralla a seruiçio de Dios» *Cron* 734a20
es *imperare* en el nuestro lenguage tanto cuemo mandar sobre otros et sennorear *Cron* 90b12

do, don.

non sauemos do yr *SDom* 362
non sopo do tornar *SDom* 649
Mezquino peccador non veo do ribar *Mil* 752
non sabien do tornar *Alix* 1311
non avre do yr *Alix* 1672
non lo han do auer *Alix* 2361
non auies do entrar *Alix* 2413
non se auiendo do acoger *Cron* 464b32

a don.

non semejauan en los coraçones a don baler *Alix* 246

por do.

por que non ouiessen . . . por do passar *Cron* 573b43

o, on.

ni fallauan o complir la sanna *Cron* 75b5
non sabie on tornar *Alix* 1568

por o.

. . . por que ouiessen por o passar *Cron* 71b16
. . . por que no ouiessen por o salir al rio *Cron* 74b46
non auian por o salir, nin por o entrar *Cron* 765b18
non auiendo carrera por o passar a el *Cron* 674b19
non auiendo por o lidiar nin por o fuyr *Cron* 256a18

qui.

non ha qui tomallos *Cid* 1778

con qui.

no aurien con qui guerrear *Cron* 50a48

quien.

buscaua dia malo, sy gelo ouies quien dar *Alix* 518
non y auia quien gelo rrencurar *Alix* 1725
non auiendo quien ge lo amparar *Cron* 418a22
no auie quien uedalles la passada *Cron* 209a32

a quien.

non sabemos a quien dezir nuestra cueyta *Cron* 411b45
non fallo alli a quien uender su quinto *Cron* 525b14

con quien.

non auien con quien se parar *Cron* 365a35

Relative and Interrogative Adjectives with Substantive and Infinitive

25. Neither Otto nor Dittes gives any instances of this construction for the Portuguese of Camões and for Old Provençal. At least two cases are at hand from the *Crónica:*

non sabien todos que onrra le dar por ello *Cron* 325b8
non sabien a qual parte yr buscarlas *Cron* 610a29

The Comparative que with Infinitive

26. A notable resemblance is remarked between the infinitive with the comparative *que* and that with the relative and interrogative pronouns. In both cases the speaker chooses the most direct means of expressing his thought, instead of using the more precise finite form of the verb. Of course, if the verb after the comparative *que* has a different subject from that of the first clause, there is hardly any choice for the speaker, i.e. the finite verb is regularly used: *Mas quiero io sennera seer embergonzada Que tanta buena duenna sea desamparada,* Mil 566.[1] Confusion of two thoughts is readily seen in the frequent use of the intrusive *non* (French *ne*) after the comparative *que: mas querien morir ya que non ueuir en aquel*

[1] Quoted by Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* III, § 610, to illustrate fusion of *que* meaning *that* with *que* meaning *than.*

crebanto, Cron 464b12. In our examples, this intrusive *non* occurs slightly more often than the more logical positive, especially in the prose *Crónica*. *Querer* is by far the most frequent verb of the first clause, *valer* being the only other one appearing at all currently. As variants for *mas*, the regular first member of the comparative group, are noted *ante* and *antes* as well as the comparatives *mayor* and *meior*: *quisieron ante seer quemados que morir a manos de los romanos*, Cron 50a16, and *meior me sera esso que beuir en peccado*, SDom 52. In *Alex* 2362, *a* appears unexpectedly with the infinitive: *mas les valdrie que fuesen por naçer . . . que tal vida a veyer*. *En* is used in both members in *Alex* 1251: *mejor abinie en armas menear que en dezir rrasones nin en consello dar*.

(a) **querer.**

mas querie furtar Que ir a la eglesia nin a puentes alzar
Mil 142
Querie de meior grado vevir con las serpientes . . .
Que derredor las cuevas veer tan grandes ientes *SMill* 45
querrien morir lidiando mas que seyer rrendidos *Alix* 1082
querrien mas fincar que escapar a uida *Alix* 1384
querrie mas seyer muerto o estar por nasçer
que tantas e tan grandes ocasiones veyer *Alix* 1396
querien mas moryr que beuir aontados *Alix* 1405
querrie seyer mas muerto que seyer con los biuos *Alix* 1420
. . . mas querie el alma ally dexar
que con manos bueytas a su señor tornar *Alix* 1555
mas quiero esperarlos, en el canpo morir
que con tan fiera carga en esti siglo beuir *Alix* 1643
querian de los griegos mas seyer conpañones
que seguir la conpaña de tales traydores *Alix* 1714
Dixo Dario: "mas quiero morir o pasion prender
o del rrey Alixandre en su prision caher
que sola vna ora con vusco vida aver *Alix* 1721
mas querie . . . peligrar o morir
que vn fallimento de su conpañero oyr *Alix* 1977
. . . mas querie el morir que vn pesar de Simacus veyer nin oyr *Alix* 1998
mas quisieron morir que seyer desleales *Alix* 2061

querien seyer muertos mas que seyer nasçidos *Alix* 2364
Mas lo querrien tener que grant aver ganar *Mil* 379
Querria seer muerta mas que sofrir tal vida *Duelo* 17
Querrie seer muerta mas que viva seer *Duelo* 45
Querria en la tiesta levar grandes mazadas
Mas que soffrir las cuitas *Duelo* 55
Mas vos quiero la cosa plana-mientre contar,
Que prender grant trabaio e el corso damnar *SMill* 475

Also: *Alix* 1674, 1296.

With intrusive *non:*

mas quisieron moryr que non seyer rrebtados *Alix* 1066
querrie mas seyer muerto que non seyer rrancado *Alix* 1390
mas querien morir que non entrar en seruidumbre de françeses *Cron* 353b12
antes me quiero yr con mios fijos a tierra de moros, que non ser uençudo en campo et fincar por aleuoso *Cron* 516a36

valer (u-).

Mucho mas nos valdria todos muertos seer
Que de refeçes omnes tal escarnio prender *Duelo* 170
Mas val con sendos oios salvar vuestros peccados,
Que con los dos veervos en infierno damnados *SMill* 276
Mas valdrie seer muertos que dar tal furçion *SMill* 397

With intrusive *non:*

mas valdrie la cosa que fues por enpeçar,
que non por nuestra onta en cabo la lexar *Alix* 714
mas ualdrie auenturarse e lidiar con el, que no pechar est auer *Cron* 25b45
mas ualie salir matarse con ellos que no soffrir los fasta que ellos entrassen por fuerça *Cron* 47a42
mas uale ser muerto o preso que non fazer mal fecho *Cron* 419b36
mas ualie pechar et dar de lo que ouiessen et saluar lo al, que non perder los cuerpos *Cron* 495b42

(b) *Other Verbs in First Clause*

These include such verbs and locutions as *amar, plazer, preçiar, cobdiçiar, tener por meior, es meior, es mayor seso* and the like:

mas plazio a los griegos que ganar toda Françia *Alix* 608
meior te es a ti los dineros tomar
que de gentes catiuas enbargado estar *Alix* 1244
Mas preçiaba dineros que iustiçia tener *Mil* 239
Preçiarlo edes mas que mediano comer *Mil* 625
mas aman fer thesoros que vedar estultiçia *Alix* 1800

With intrusive *non:*

plogol mas con aquel logar que no con ell otro, queriendo ante que los daquella uilla ouiessen menos dabondo, e fuessen en sennorio dessi mismos, que non seer much abondados en poder dotri *Cron* 36a31

era meior de salir e matar se con ellos que no morir alli de sed *Cron* 75a20

touo que era meior pedirles poco, e yr todouia creciendo que non pedilles mucho, e auer depues a menguar *Cron* 35a27

touo por meior de morir que non fazer ninguna destas cosas *Cron* 38a13

mayor seso es et mayor pro en las cosas dubdosas esperar tiempo pora quando omne pueda fazer su fecho a meioria de si, que non apressurarse con atreuiençia loca et cometer el fecho a su danno *Cron* 687a43

meior era prouar en la batalla la uoluntad del çielo et el periglo que non uer tantos males de su tierra et tantos crebantos de sus sennorios *Cron* 687b12

meior serie que non yazer encerrados *Cron* 417a38

The first member of the comparison is represented by *si:*

Dixol Munno a Oria: ¿ cobdiçias allá ir?
Dixol a Munno Oria: yo si, mas que vivir *SOria* 158

PART II

THE PREPOSITIONAL INFINITIVE

THE INFINITIVE WITH DE

27. Diez states that Latin offers no examples of the use of prepositions with the infinitive,[1] and that when so found in Romance the combination takes the place of the Latin gerund or gerundive. He finds in the scribes' Latin of the late Vulgar Latin period various interesting cases of the infinitive with preposition, of which the following are representative: *ad scrivere tolli, cepit ad vendere, ad habitare aut lavorare*, etc. These show an increasing usefulness of the infinitive, and forecast the conditions later prevailing in the Romance languages. As soon as the infinitive was considered capable of use with a preposition, its field could be extended almost indefinitely, restricted only by the limitations of the prepositions themselves. Diez further remarks that the preposition *de* had its meaning more weakened than any other preposition.[2] It was only a natural development when the infinitive took the place of a noun in normal noun locutions with *de*, as when, instead of saying *vengo de Madrid* they said *vengo de ver Madrid.* These instances are numerous, but undoubtedly the *de*-type most influential on the later growth of infinitive usefulness was the *de* in the sense of *concerning, about, in the matter of, relative to*, called by Meyer-Lübke the *relative de.*[3] This is the particular sense of *de* that shows itself weakened to such a point that it is sometimes almost impossible to see even a vestige of its original meaning left. But in most doubtful instances the rendition of *de* by one of the above approximate equivalents will not be

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 201. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, pp. 254, 299–303 (*de*).
[2] *Gram.* III, p. 234. [3] *Gram.* III, § 340.

conspicuously out of place, e.g. in such expressions as *me duele de, me cale de, fermoso de, dulçe de, enpeçar de, pensar de,* etc. All uses taken together, the *de*-infinitive gained gradually in popular favor until it surpassed both the pure and the *a*-infinitives. Thus our texts yield about twenty verbs with *de*-infinitive subject, and forty with *de*-infinitive object, as well as adjective and noun constructions not found with the pure infinitive. It is especially significant that the *de*-infinitive could hold its own in the field of infinitive subjects and objects, since here were territories that would normally stand firm for the pure infinitive. It seems so much more natural to get to the objective of the action of the finite verb without introducing a comparatively foreign prepositional sense (*comiençó dormir, meresco seer enperador, temia perder el reyno*). But the *relative de* was so fitting with many verbs (*pensar de, acordarse de, apresurarse de,* etc.), and *de* could so readily indicate the origin or the object with other verbs (considered by Meyer-Lübke the starting-point of the spread of *de*-objects, according to *Gram.* III, § 386) as with *començar, çesar* and the like — while the various senses of *de* were so delicately shaded one into another — that *de* came to be more and more pervasive in infinitive constructions where its use was far from traditional. Its sense was of course weakening all this time, since it could not be employed with such varied verbs if its force remained at all constant (e.g. *aborrecien de oyr fablar* . . . Cron 135b36; *aprende de dar tu cuerpo a los omnes,* Cron 113a24; *assacaron de fazer un beuer,* Cron 30a45; *buscaron de echarlo,* Duelo 70, etc.). It came, then, to be more or less a handle of the infinitive that could be utilized with most verbs taking an infinitive object. There were some that remained true to the pure infinitive, such as the modal auxiliaries and the members of the *fazer* group, because here the action of the infinitive was quite immediate to the action of the conjugated verb, but most of the other verbs taking the pure infinitive object felt the encroachment of the *de*-infinitive. The special group of *de*-infinitive objects with verb phrases of the type *tener en*

coraçon, auer en uso, escoger por meior, etc. are of interest, as they form a considerable body of useful expressions in which the *de*-infinitive has largely departed from its traditional *relative* sense, and successfully invaded a pure infinitive field. It is significant that these expressions are noted only in the *Crónica*, i.e. that in the period between the *Cid* and the *Crónica* the use of the *de*-infinitive had rapidly increased. In this group, the action of the infinitive was not felt as immediate to that of the main verb, and the infinitive needed the slightly introductory force of the *de* (*no tenie en coraçon de numqua tornar*, Cron 39b36; *ouieron et tomaron los cristianos en uso de dezir* . . . Cron 361a3).

Other functions of the *de*-infinitive are found coming from traditional senses of the preposition. Thus the *de*-infinitive may indicate *direction from* (*venir de, tornarse de, despertar de, leuantarse de*, etc.), the *cause* of an action (*alabarse de, enoiarse de, castigarse de*, etc.), and the *means* or *manner* of an action (*adobar de, gozarse de*, etc.) Its use with adjectives and nouns, though not traditional, becomes one of its important functions (*graue de uencer*, Cron 161b21; *fermosa de catar*, Cron 146b38; *tiempo de casar*, Cron 22a34; *seso de fablar*, Mil 691, etc.). All these constructions will be considered later.

The de-Infinitive as Subject with ser and an Adjective or Adverb

28. It is an interesting fact that Otto [1] finds no cases of the *de*-infinitive acting as the subject of a verb in Camões. This would indicate that the field of the *de*-infinitive had not been extended so far in Portuguese as in Spanish, though the discrepancy in period and school prevents accurate comparison. In Old Spanish this construction is indeed quite common, though only one case occurs in the *Cid* (*cómmo vos plaze de far*, Cid 670). The *Crónica* is particularly prolific in examples of the *de*-infinitive as subject.

[1] *Port. Inf.*, § 23.

Under the immediate class with *ser* and an adjective or adverb, the following examples may be cited:

Luengo serie de todo quanto que vio contar *Alix* 2471
malo es de guardar *SDom* 51
De dar las tres meaias non li será pesado *SMill* 2
A tal sennor es bueno de servir e rogar *SMill* 445
serie meior de llegar mayor poder *Cron* 71b32
era meior de salir et matar se con ellos que no morir de sed *Cron* 75a21
a aquellos bien les estaua de no yr en huestas *Cron* 77a52
non era derecho de tornar *Cron* 180b46
non serie derecho de ge lo tener por fuerça *Cron* 419a7
mas guisado era de yr ell *Cron* 437a7
era bien de oyr lo que su hermano lo enuiaua dezir *Cron* 507a24
guisado es de fincar uos assy *Cron* 609a30
era meior de yr su carrera *Cron* 695b29
meior era de lo acabar *Cron* 747b7
serie guisado de yr alla algunos *Cron* 751a32

The de-Infinitive as Subject with ser and Substantive

29. The subgrouping of instances of the *de*-infinitive as subject into those used with *ser* and an adjective or adverb, and those with *ser* and a substantive, is for convenience of comparison with Otto's work for the Portuguese rather than for any value that such grammatical subtleties may be fancied to have. The difference is negligible between *guisado es de fincar*, Cron 609a30, and *sera guisada cosa de no caer*, Cron 74a18, as far as concerns the function of the infinitive. The *Crónica* again yields a great majority of cases of *de*-infinitive as subject.

Asaz es fiera pena . . . de nunca veyer omne la cara de nuestro Señor *Alix* 2399
De fablarvos en ellas serie grant prolixidat,
De tornar en el bispo es nuestra voluntat *SMill* 72
Vistió el omne bueno los pannos del altar,
Con los quales es ley de la missa cantar *SMill* 179

era seso de guardar su onra *Cron* 30a7
es graue cosa de se mudar lo que uiene por natura *Cron* 124b14
es cosa much usada . . . de maldezir los maestros *Cron* 143a50
¿ que prouecho nos es de auer uencido los barbaros? *Cron* 184a33
es culpa de la negar a los que lo piden *Cron* 186a6
nin les serie loor nin prez . . . de tornar a sus casas *Cron* 285b38
mayor prez nos sera de mouer hueste et tomar armas *Cron* 286a16
Graue cosa fue all arçobispo de uenir *Cron* 291a19
Costumbre era . . . de criar se los donzelles et las donzellas fijos de los altos omnes *Cron* 307b30
fue su conseio . . . de dexarse de todas las cosas *Cron* 586b18
muy noble cosa era de veerle sus fijas *Cron* 639b8
commo es costumbre de fazer *Cron* 641a14
es rrazon . . . de gelo razonar omne *Cron* 728a50
Manera es de los estoriadores . . . de emendar sienpre en las razones pasadas *Cron* 737a15
non serie mas su pro de alli estar *Cron* 739a21
non era marauilla de auer ende grant pesar *Cron* 748a33
non era mesura de partir *Cron* 751a29
grant cosa serie de lo poder acabar *Cron* 766b24

The de-Infinitive as Subject with the Impersonal Verbs

30. The *de*-infinitive as subject is considerably more frequent than the pure infinitive with the impersonal verbs (cf. §12 above). Among the verbs taking both the pure and the *de*-infinitive as subject are noted *abondar, caer, conuenir, pertenesçer, plazer* and *semeiar*. Impersonal constructions of the type *es forzoso, es posible,* are treated in §28 under *ser* and an adjective or adverb. These expressions are comparatively rare, with the exception of *es bueno, es bien, es meior, es malo,* and *es guisado*. Although the *Crónica* furnishes most of the available instances of the *de*-infinitive with impersonal verbs, the other texts employ this construction from time to time.

abondar.

This verb appears with pure infinitive also.

¿ e como non abonda all emperador de dar sus quitaciones a los caualleros cristianos? *Cron* 274b43

acaesçer.

acaesçiol de posar en las casas dell obispo *Cron* 712b2

auer pro.

non uos a pro lidar mas por el *Cron* 289a38

caer.

The pure infinitive also occurs with *caer*.

cayo por suert a la reyna Lampeto de fincar en la tierra et mantener el regno et deffender le *Cron* 219a46
non me cae a mi de uos conseiar *Cron* 732b44
nos cae aqui agora en razon . . . de contar aqui como fue aquella contienda *Cron* 673b22

conuenir.

The pure and *a*-infinitives are also found with *conuenir*. *De* is noted only in the *Crónica*.

conuiene de guardarnos *Cron* 286b40
les conuinie de yr se *Cron* 318b17
conuiene aqui de fablar en el linage de los reyes *Cron* 467b32
conuiene de casarla *Cron* 644b18
conuerna a uos de dezir . . . alguna cosa *Cron* 189b12

Also: *Cron* 698b24, 748b16, 768b13.

cumplir.

fallaron por su acuerdo que les cumplie de auer entre si algunos omnes buenos por mayores *Cron* 85a49
nol cumplie de usar destas artes *Cron* 122a51
poco uos cumple a uos de saber de mi fidalguia nada *Cron* 427b47

entrar (en voluntad).

One case occurs in *Alix* 1147:

entrol en voluntad de yr en rromeria

guisarse.

non se les guisaua dauer la batalla *Cron* 75b14
si se le guisasse de fazer le cuemo fiziera a Ponpeyo *Cron* 83a25

paresçer.

paresçrie mal de leuar moros *Cron* 525b48
paresçie grieue de guerrear Calatraua a aquellos que la uinien combater *Cron* 695b2

pertenesçer.

The pure infinitive subject is likewise used with *pertenesçer*.

a quien pertenesçe de guardar el regno *Cron* 723a18

pesar.

como quier quel pesaua de yr ell con tales nueuas *Cron* 498b25

plazer.

The pure infinitive is also found as subject with *plazer*.

dezidme, cavalleros, cómmo vos plaze de far *Cid* 670
plezralis de oilla *Mil* 215
plazria asus parientes de ueerla transida *SDom* 680
les plazia de conplir quanto les auie dicho *Cron* 590b23

semeiar.

The pure infinitive is also found as subject with *semejar*. In such a case as *Cron* 45à52 it is clear that the *de*-infinitive is acting as the predicate rather than as the subject of *semeiaua: e por end les semeiaua de seer destroyda una uez, e que sacassen de sos coraçones la manziella de Carthago pora siempre.* The similarity in sense between this *de*-infinitive construction and that with *ser* is conspicuous: *Sennor, tu los connoçes quales son de sacar*, Duelo 102. The mutual dependence on *semeiaua* of the *de*-infinitive and the *que* clause with the subjunctive is also to be remarked.

Pero razon semeia, maguera que tardemos,
De contarvos los signos *SMill* 377
les semeiaua grieue cosa de seruir nin obedescer a otri *Cron* 354a34
non me semeia guisado de uos yr conseiar *Cron* 497b40

ser mester and **menester.**

non me es mester de yr a los moros *Cron* 512a44
quando fuer mester de lo departir *Cron* 577a25
cosas que mester les fueren de comer et de beuer et de albergue *Cron* 686a27
menester les era de conseio tomar *Alix* 1953

tener pro.

¿ que pro te tiene de te matar assi? *Cron* 442a40

venir (u–).

An interesting group of locutions having *de*-infinitive subject was based on *venir* as a common element. These locutions have notably diverse senses according to the noun used with *venir*. *Coraçon* is particularly frequent, as it is likewise in related object locutions with *tener* and *auer* (*ouo muy mas a coraçon de yr contra el,* Cron 132a24). Neither the pure infinitive nor any preposition other than *de* is noted with *venir* in this impersonal construction.

venir a coraçon.

Vinol a corazon do se sedie un dia
Al apostolo de Espanna de ir en romeria *Mil* 184
le ueno a coraçon de complirlo *Cron* 662a48
ueno a coraçon a un conde . . . de yr en romeria *Cron* 412a16
uenoles a coraçon a essos de Salamanca de mouer contienda contral rey *Cron* 673a24

venir en coraçon.

Vinoli adesora al rey en coraçon
de dar el monasterio al preçioso varon *SDom* 200

venir a punto.

sy les vino a punto de fablar en aquella misma razon *Cron* 737a20

venir a talent.

uenol . . . a talent de fazer un ospital *Cron* 686a11

venir en vision.

En vision li ujno de fer vn ministerio *SDom* 267

venir a voluntat.

nin les vernie a uoluntat de lo comedir *Cron* 607b50

The de-Infinitive as Predicate Noun

31. Only two instances are at hand of the *de*-infinitive as an ordinary predicate noun. In the second of these it will be seen that the *de* gives a certain introductory force needed by the unattached *fincar:*

> el saber dell arte de geometria, que es de medir *Cron* 3b3
> ca profession fazer el frayre, es renunçiar el mundo, esto es, quel dexa pora siempre, et de fincar en la orden otrossi por siempre *Cron* 692a3

Within the territory of the predicate infinitive is found, however, the important *de*-infinitive locution with *ser*. Menéndez Pidal [1] finds *ser* with *de*-infinitive only once in the *Cid*, though it is current elsewhere (*esto sea de vagar*, Cid 380). He also calls attention to the fact that *ser de* is the passive, in actual use, of *auer de*. Otto takes little note of the Portuguese [2] *ser de*, merely pointing out that it corresponds to the Latin *ad*-gerund (*ad credendum*) or the genitive of the gerundive. He expresses surprise, however, that *a* with the infinitive does not occur here instead of *de*. In Old Spanish both prepositions are common, though *de* is slightly the favorite. This is quite the contrary of the situation found in *auer a* and *de* with the infinitive, as here the *a* construction is many times more frequent.

> non serien de contar *Sac* 68
> es de acometer *Sac* 107
> esto es de creer *Sac* 118
> non es de oblidar nin es de encobrir *Sac* 145
> essi es de temer *SDom* 153
> mas era lo del Rey mas de maraujllar *SDom* 507
> cosa aun es de deçir *Loor* 74
> es de conplir *Alix* 658
> non son de dexar *Alix* 1482
> lo que es de venir *Alix* 1641
> eran de poblar *Cron* 10a30

[1] *Cid* I, § 161, [2.

[2] *Port. Inf.*, § 23.

es todo de sofrir *SOria* 175
Non era pora nos de seer espendido *Duelo* 120
son de servir e onrrar *SMill* 448
non era cosa de encobrir *Mil* 511
Esta razon, sennora, tuia es de veer *Mil* 786

Other examples of the *de*-infinitive with *ser* will be found in: *Sac* 163; *Loor* 119; *Sig* 10, 69; *Mil* 141, 488, 601, 703, 867; *SDom* 153, 177, 570; *SMill* 109, 150, 487; *Alix* 1457, 1732, 2094, 2098, 2467, 2624, etc.

The de-Infinitive Object and the Relative de

32. Meyer-Lübke[1] shows the union of the infinitive object with the conjugated verb by means of the preposition *de* to have been of Romance creation, yet to date back to that formative period, the processes of which to a large extent are still shrouded in conjecture. He considers the point of departure, from which the use of *de* spread to numerous verbs not normally taking it according to their sense, to have been with those verbs that could equally well take the *de* of *origin* or of *object*, such as *començar* and *çesar*. Another group assisting in the spread of *de* was that of verbs taking the indirect object of the person, and the *de*-infinitive object of the thing, such as *prometer*, *ordenar*, etc. It should be emphasized, however, that the most important cause of the rapid increase in the use of *de* was the fact that its sense permitted such weakening as to make it eventually serve more as a slightly significant introductory particle to the infinitive than as a real entity in the meaning of the sentence. And the sense of *de* that permitted such weakening was the *relative de* (i.e., *relative to, concerning, about, in the matter of*), that could be used so naturally with a large number of verbs (*pensar de, asmar de, auenturarse de, dubdar de*, etc.). Even with the verbs meaning *to begin* and *to cease*, this *relative de* was quite appropriate (*enpeçar de fablar*, to begin *in the matter of* speaking). It was

[1] *Gram.* III, § 386.

such a delicate prepositional sense that it crept inconspicuously into use with numerous verbs not readily attracting the *de* of *origin*, etc. Even with verbs normally taking the *de* of *cause* or *means* it is sometimes possible to consider the *relative de* as operative (*gozarse de*, to enjoy oneself *by means of*, *because of*, or *in the matter of* something). This shows the problem to be more subtle than profitable. The important fact is that this *de-construction*, by reason of its variously useful connotations, came to replace the pure infinitive to a very large extent, and even to encroach on the territory of the *a*-infinitive normally indicating *goal*. This was particularly true of the verb object class, where it was quite possible to view the relation of infinitive to verb in several manners, and where the prepositional construction was indeed a substitute for the object relation rather than that relation itself. Thus in the object group at least the following verbs are found with both *de* and *a*: *aprender*, *cobdiçiar*, *começar*, *cometer*, *conpeçar*, *dexar*, *enpeçar*, *esforçar(se)*, *mereçer*, *pensar* and *usar*. The *a* usually indicates the place or goal of the action, i.e. *place at which* or *to which* (*esforçarse a*, *começar a*, etc.), while the *de*, as explained above, is prevailingly the *relative de*. Of these two prepositions *de* was used much more generally than *a* in the object group, but after this period, in which analogy operated most freely in causing various prepositions to be tried out with a given verb, the genius of the individual verb asserted itself in the fixing of its prepositional construction: *a* with *começar*, *en* with *pensar*, the pure infinitive with *mereçer*, *de* with *dexar* in the sense of *to cease*, etc. It should also be noted below that the *relative de*-infinitive is equally at home with transitive, intransitive and reflexive verbs, and that with the transitives and intransitives it sometimes causes an approach to the object relation (cf. *quedar*, *fallecer*, *membrarse*, etc.) The verbs cited below are, however, for the most part transitive.

For a discussion of infinitive locutions of the type *auer a coraçon de*, *auer en costumbre de*, *auer por costumbre de*, *auer en uso de*, *escoger por meior de*, etc., see § 27 and § 33.

Meyer-Lübke cites an instance from *SMill* 105 [1] in which

[1] *Gram.* III, § 389.

he construes the *de*-infinitive as object of *querer*, thus showing the invasion of the territory of the pure infinitive object by the prepositional construction: *sennor, si tu quisiesses, yo mucho lo querria, de vevir solitario.* This instance is, however, only one of a number of such cases that are rather to be taken as the infinitive in apposition with a noun or pronoun (in this case *lo*), in which group it is by no means rare to find *de* introducing the infinitive. *Querer* does, however, take a real *de*-object in *Cron* 450b37: *quiso por su merced de mostrar esta grand coyta por quien era.*

aborrecer.

espantauanse todos et aborrecien de oyr fablar de tan estranno comer *Cron* 135b36

acabar.

The first citation below brings out more clearly than usual the *relative de* with infinitive.

el templo fue acabado de fazer et consagrado *Cron* 107a33
ca tantos acabo de ueuir quando el fino *Cron* 645b2
aquel anno acabo de cercar toda la uilla *Cron* 171a41

acordar(se).

This verb, generally reflexive, is also noted with *a-*, *por-* and *en*-infinitives. The *Crónica*, the only text offering examples, has *de* most currently.

acordaron los senadores . . . de poblar de cabo a Carthago *Cron* 53a31
acordaron de dar algunos *Cron* 87a42
acordaron de enuiarla pedir *Cron* 469b31
acordaron de yrse meter en sus manos *Cron* 368b45
auian acordado de lo fazer *Cron* 729b43

Also: *Cron* 477a5, 549a17, 573a31, 729b32.

Reflexive:

acordaron se de estar en su uilla *Cron* 288b51
acordose de traer pleytesia con el rey *Cron* 746a34
acordaronse todos los mas de yrse con la inffante et non fincar en la villa *Cron* 509b26

Also: *Cron* 754b39, 580a40.

aprender.

This verb was also used with the *a*-infinitive.

aprende de dar tu cuerpo a los omnes *Cron* 113a24

apressurar.

Apressurarse takes the *a*-infinitive as well.

apressuro por ende de sacarle de entre las maldades de este mundo *Cron* 667b36

asmar.

The pure infinitive is also noted with *asmar*, though the construction with *de* is the more frequent. Most of our texts yield examples, with the notable exception of the *Cid*.

Asmaron de levarla *SMill* 349
Asmaron de alzarse, meter toda mission *SMill* 397
Asmó de ir a elli *Mil* 636
asmo de ser clerigo, sauer bonas façañas *SDom* 34
asmo de fer se monge e fer obediençia *SDom* 81
asmo de apartarse en aquel logarejo *Alex* 923
auia asmado de lidiando morir *Alex* 1398
asmo de matar su fijo *Cron* 454a19
auien asmado de desonrrar sus mugeres *Cron* 608b42
asmo de las leuar de ally a otro lugar *Cron* 609b3

Also: *SMill* 12; *SDom* 263; *Alex* 721, 1873, 1925.

assacar.

sobresto assacaron de fazer un beuer de trigo cocho *Cron* 30a45
assacaron de fazer unos estrumentos de fierro *Cron* 695a33

atreuerse.

The pure, *a*- and *en*-infinitives are found with *atreuerse*.

no se atreuie de lidiar contra ellos *Cron* 239b51
atrouieron se de yr lidiar *Cron* 314b38
non se atreuiendo de atenderle alli *Cron* 357b14
nunca se atreuio de gelo dezir *Cron* 628b37

auenturarse.

Demando . . . si aurie y qui se quisiesse auenturar por el de passar nadando a la cibdat et recabar le esto *Cron* 59a8
se auenturarie de no poner y la ymagen *Cron* 117a42
quierome auenturar de yrle uer et fazerle entender todo mi coraçon *Cron* 413a22

buscar.

The construction with *pora*-infinitive also occurs.

Essos li buscaron de echarlo a mal *Duelo* 70

çes(s)ar.

The pure infinitive is likewise employed with *çes(s)ar*, though rarely. Verbs of this sense currently affect *de* (*acabar*, *dexar*, *fincar*, *finar*, *quedar*).

de plorar non çesaba *Duelo* 136
non çesen de verter *Duelo* 139
. . . fuego infernal, que de arder non çesa *Sac* 266
el non çessaua de al Criador serujr *SDom* 163
non çeses de prometer *Alex* 61

Also: *Duelo* 140; *Mil* 867.

cobdiçiar.

The pure infinitive is considerably more frequent than the *de*-construction with *cobdiçiar*. The infinitive is also noted with *a* and *por*.

cobdiciaua de seer el solo sennor de tod ell imperio *Cron* 81a5
En Espanna cobdiçio de luego empezar *Mil* 47

començar.

The pure and *a*-infinitives are also found with *començar*. For a discussion of *començar* with pure infinitive and the possibility of absorption of the preposition *a* in certain cases, see § 17. This verb, like *enpeçar*, is conspicuously lacking in the *Cid*, inceptive action being expressed by *conpeçar*, *pensar*, etc. with dependent infinitive. In our other texts *començar* appears frequently, particularly in the *Crónica*, where it is found on almost every page. The *Crónica* greatly prefers *a* to *de* with

its dependent infinitive, though the *de* construction occurs about forty times in one hundred pages. Sometimes the two prepositional uses will be noted side by side, *a* governing the infinitive nearest *començar* and *de* the more remote:

> començo Mahomet a predigar su secta descubertamientre et de aluorosçar los pueblos contra fe de Cristo *Cron* 274a5
> començoles a dezir et de retraerles vnas cosas *Cron* 588b40
> los començaron a cometer et de los ferir *Cron* 764b3

The passages are naturally more numerous in which the same preposition occurs with succeeding infinitives:

> en comiençó de su regnado començara de seer bueno et de darse a bien, començó luego de darse a mal *Cron* 304a40
> començó de correr et de fazerle mucho mal en la tierra *Cron* 339b35
> començó de labrar la mezquita de Cordoua et de affortalezarla *Cron* 344b1
> començó de correr et de destroyr toda la tierra et de fazer en ella mucho mal *Cron* 358a39; also 244b16, 265b29.41, 289b47, 391b8

The second infinitive does not need any preposition at all:

> començó de quexarse mucho por ende, et nombrar a si mismo *Cron* 341a4
> E los del castiello començaron de lidar et ampararse *Cron* 287b3

In the *Alixandre* etc., *començar de* is used especially in short, concise phrases, the connection between *començar* and the infinitive being close:

començo de çenar *Alix* 363
començo de dezir *Alix* 926
començo de feryr *Alix* 1045
començo de dezir *Alix* 1190
començo de clamar *Alix* 1358
comenzó de volar *SOria* 40
Comenzó de traherla *SOria* 140
començo de llorar *SDom* 363
començo de fablar *Alix* 648
començose de yr *Alix* 1045
començo de fuyr *Alix* 1054
començo de asomar *Alix* 1287
començo de plañer *Alix* 1757
comenzó de pujar *SOria* 40
començol de rogar *SDom* 476
començo . . . de amolar los dientes *Alix* 1321

Other examples of *començar* with *de*-infinitive will be found in *Cron* 10b33, 12b39, 13a31.51, 13b24, 27b12, 192b47, 165a8, 231a34, 233a26, 265b3, 270b29, 285b2.8.31, 288a33, 289b14, 290b27, 291a32, 291b41, 304a42, 304b38, 306b9.42, 309b24, 315b49, 322b31, 323b6, 324b32, 327a2, 328a48, 335b5, 340b32, 341a4, 341b36, 349a31, 359a47, 360b44, 391b42, 397b24, etc.

cometer.

Examples of *cometer* with infinitive are noted in the *Crónica* only. The *a*-infinitive is used in *Cron* 72a2: *muy grand miedo deuie auer de cometer a passar la.*

ni salie ninguno a ellos a cometer de ferir *Cron* 75b5
cometiol de lidiar *Cron* 81a11
por que . . . non se atrouiesse a cometer de fazer otro ta fecho *Cron* 86a45
como quisiesse cometer de yr *Cron* 687a31
cometieron de combatir la çipdad et lidiarla muy de rrezio *Cron* 704b43
non osauan cometer de se meter a tan grant peligro *Cron* 738a33
. . . fuesen cometer de pasar por do estauan siete *Cron* 751b39

conpeçar (com–).

With the exception of two instances in the *Alixandre*, the *Cid* is the only text offering examples of *conpeçar* with the *de*-infinitive. The *a*-infinitive is also noted with *conpeçar*. This verb is evidently a fusion of *començar* and *enpeçar*,[1] infrequent even in this period since only four examples are at hand outside of the *Cid*. The pure infinitive is not found with *conpeçar* at all.

conpeçó de espolonar *Cid* 705
compeçaron de llorar *Cid* 856
conpeçós de alegrar *Cid* 1083
conpeçó de guerrear *Cid* 1090
compeçós de pagar *Cid* 1201
conpeço de beuer *Alix* 2578
conpeço de clamar *Alix* 2184
conpeçó de fablar *Cid* 1114, 1456, 3306

[1] *Cid* I, § 161, [2 and *Cid* II, *compeçar*.

contender.

Por- and *en-*infinitives are also found with *contender.*

> . . . siempre contiende de valer a cuitados,
> Gobernar los mezquinos, revocar los errados,
> Por tierras e por mares fer miraclos granados *Mil* 623

cuydar.

The regular infinitive construction of *cuydar* is without preposition. The use of *de* does not perceptibly change the sense of the locution. With *en,* the meaning becomes rather *to think about, to consider: estauan cuydando en escoger rey entressi,* Cron 230a30.

> mas yo non lo afirmo, que cuydo de mentir *Alix* 2271

cumplir.

The *de*-infinitive is more often used as subject with impersonal *cumplir.*

> algunas cosas que a ellos non cumplian de leuarlas *Cron* 637a22

dar.

The more frequent prepositional construction of *dar* is discussed under *dar a,* § 44. *De* occurs in very few instances, and these of slightly doubtful infinitive function. The two locutions noted with *de* in our texts are *dar de comer* and *dar de uestir,* both from the *Crónica.* The fact that *a* appears also with *comer* and *uestir* in approximately the same sense, though the function of the preposition is so different, indicates that the infinitive is to be taken as verb rather than as noun (*dauan a comer et a uestir,* Cron 642a40), since *a* regularly introduces a verbal infinitive expressing goal or purpose. A very similar situation is seen in *auer* and *ser* taking *de* and *a* with infinitive: *ouola a sacar,* SDom 416; *ouo de fablar,* Alix 363; *era a mouer,* SDom 692, etc. That *beber* may be used as a noun (here without preposition) is indicated by: *Diol beber tan amargo,* Loor 73.

dar de comer: *Cron* 523b34, 603a22, 706b41, 707a1
dar de uestir: *Cron* 534a37, 582b28
dar a comer: *Cron* 516a14, 517a43, 642a40; *Sig* 28
dar a uestir: *Cron* 642a40

denegar.

et denego de enuiarles ayuda *Cron* 679a33

desamparar.

desampararon aquellos de fazer la torre *Cron* 5a14

dexar (-ss-).

The infinitive with *dexar* may be pure or have *a*, *de*, or *por* with it. The pure and the prepositional constructions are quite distinct in meaning, since without preposition *dexar* belongs to the *fazer* group, the causative verbs (in one case the pure infinitive has the usual prepositional sense: *por que veyen los vnos a los otros caher, por eso non dexauan su camino tener*, Alix 1091). With the prepositional infinitive (*a*, *de* and *por*), *dexar* has the idea of *ceasing*, etc. The difference in the resultant locution, whether *de* or *a* is used, is negligible, though the functions of the prepositions remain distinct. *De* as usual has the *relative* value so often seen with other verbs, since if it were the *de* of *separation*, hence privative, *a* could not be used in an equivalent locution. The *a* may well have its regular *place* signification. Both these senses have been also noted for the verbs of *beginning*, and fit just as well for the verbs of *ceasing*. *Dexar de* only occurs in our poetry four times, *dexar a* not at all. In the *Crónica*, the prepositional constructions are quite frequent at the end of chapters in some such formula as *agora dexa ell estoria de contar della, e torna a dezir de cuemo* . . . Cron 44a21.

non dexen por los muertos los biuos de lidiar *Alix* 1090
non dexo por dubda cosa de ensayar *Alix* 1160
Non dessó de deçir *Mil* 836
dexamos de fablar *Cron* 10b17
non dexo de quemar vna mala meaja *Alix* 1876

Also: *Cron* 19a29, 20a6, 20a35, 24a1, 25a28, 26b29, 27a47, 17b20, 18a48.

dubdar.

This verb appears also with pure and *en*-infinitives.

non dubda de fallir *Alix* 55
pero dubdaua Etor de bien se demeter *Alix* 627
estos diablos non dubdan de morir *Alix* 2165
Dubdó Valeriano de levarlo consigo *SLaur* 89
mucho te dubdaries de yr a el fasero *Alix* 477
. . . que los que lo oyesen dubdasen de pecar *Alix* 2091
Dixol que non dubdase de fer su maestria *Alix* 2230

Also: *Cron* 40b41, 67b33, 67b40, 189a32, 402b37.

enpe(s)çar [em-].

Like the other verbs of the group meaning *to begin* (*començar*, *conpeçar*), *enpeçar* shows an unsettled condition in the use of prepositions with the infinitive. *Conpeçar* is the only verb of this type favoring the *de*-infinitive, *començar*, and more especially *enpeçar*, preferably taking *a*. The pure infinitive occurs with *començar* and *enpeçar*, but not with *conpeçar*. With neither of these verbs does it at all rival the prepositional constructions, however.

enpesço de baldir menazas *Alix* 761
el buen enperador enpeço de fablar *Alix* 1819
enpeço de dezir vierbo de amistad *Alix* 2186
enpesço de mascarlos *Alix* 797
empezó de llorar *Mil* 517

Also: *Alix* 1814, 2060, 2132, 2422; *Loor* 44; *SDom* 649; *SMill* 150, 195, 219; *Cron* 309a48.

ensayar.

The examples with *de* come from the *Crónica* only. The pure infinitive is also found with *ensayar*.

ensayaron de lidiar otra uez con los romanos *Cron* 225a7
ensayaron de leuantarse *Cron* 228a24
ensayaron de lidiar contra Vualia *Cron* 233b24
fuera muchas uezes ensayado de estoruarsse *Cron* 689a20
enssayaron de uenir *Cron* 700a2

escoger.

The *por*-infinitive is likewise noted with *escoger*.

escogieron de perder antes la franqueza que no la uida *Cron* 228a37

escogieron mas de seer desondrados . . . que non obedesçer al princep *Cron* 671b28

escogio el de auer mingua con los que la auien, et fincar en aquel tiempo con los freyres *Cron* 706b47

esforçarse.

Infinitive constructions of *esforçarse* also employ *a* and *pora*.

esforçosse de yr contra ellos *Cron* 22b12

establecer.

auien establecido entre si . . . del enuiar todas las coronas *Cron* 122b3

fallecer.

In sense, this intransitive verb may be classed with *dexar*, *finar*, *fincar*, *quedar*, and *çesar*, all taking *de*-infinitive. Of these *fallecer* and *finar* are the least in evidence in these texts.

nunqual fallecien de lo seruir et de lo guardar *Cron* 93b50

finar.

Cf. fallecer above.

non se fino de andar *Alix* 1965

fincar.

Cf. *fallecer* above. *Fincar* is not common in any text, yet occurs once in the *Cid* and several times in the *Crónica*.

non fincan de andar *Cid* 1474

fincaua de conquerir *Cron* 72a47

non finco de derribar sinon lo que se podrie deffender con saetas *Cron* 575a24

non fincara por mi de uos ayudar *Cron* 599b29

non fincare por uos de lo demandar *Cron* 614a30

non finco de yr *Cron* 648a30

husar.

Los moros auien husado de seguir *Cron* 755b29

judgar.

judgaron de comer la carne ante que desamparar la tierra *Cron* 707a9

membrarse (men-).

Membrarse and *oluidarse* are excellent examples of verbs taking the *relative de*-infinitive. This is the only infinitive construction noted with *membrarse.*

se non membro ... de nonbrarle en aquella postura *Cron* 515a21
... que se menbrassen ... de ayudar a los menores *Cron* 662b33

mere(s)cer.

The pure infinitive is much more frequent than the *de*-infinitive with *merescer.* The *a*-infinitive is also found. The confused subject in the first example below is to be remarked.

merecist de yazer el dios Anubis contigo *Cron* 113a23
merescio de seer llamado don Alffonsso el Casto *Cron* 347a44
merescie bien de seer emperador *Cron* 348b52

oluidarse.

No other infinitive use occurs for this verb. Both *membrarse* and *oluidarse* are very rare in our texts.

vengo a uos por vna cosa que se oluido de uos dezir *Cron* 732b23

pensar (-ss-).

Pensar occurs several times with pure infinitive, once each with *a* and *por*, but is regular with *de.* Diez [1] considers *pensar de* as the paraphrase of an adverbial idea developed similarly to *acabar de.* Its meaning, however, is by no means clear in all cases. Menéndez Pidal gives the following comparative equivalents for Old Spanish. Usually *pensar de* has the *inceptive* sense of *disponerse a*, but it may depart from this enough to be equivalent to *ocuparse en.* Occasionally it appears doubtful if any sense at all is left in the locution, as in the case of *piénssanse de armar*, Cid 1135, where Menéndez

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 215, 4.

Pidal thinks it may mean either *se aperciben a armarse*, or simply *se arman*. The customary recurrence of *pensar de*, among other set phrases in the *Cid*, certainly tends to detract from the inherent strength of the locution, but cannot hide its acquired *inceptive* force. At least a vividness is felt in its use which is foreign to the simple verb. Menéndez Pidal also assigns to his group of verbs giving a *perífrasis inútil*, besides *pensar de*, *querer*, *fazer*, *mandar* and *ir*, in large part doubtless because of their frequency of use. For a careful and thorough study of *penser de* in Old French, Luker's dissertation [1] will be found of value, as it is on the omission of *penser* that he bases the so-called *historical* infinitive in Old French. The frequency of *pensar de* evidently did not induce a similar construction in Old Spanish, however, probably because of the greater resistance of Spanish in general to the operation of syncope and allied principles. The independent infinitive is in fact extremely rare in any use (see § 22). But the locution *pensar de* is as common itself as could be desired. It is to be noted that there are far more numerous examples in the *Cid* than in any other text. It is also especially common in Old French in the epic type of poetry. In the *Alixandre* it occurs only about one-half the number of times it does in the *Cid*, though the *Alixandre* is nearly three times as long. Nor, on the other hand, is *pensar de* by any means as frequent in the *Crónica* as in the *Cid*, from which also it might be inferred that it was considered more fitting to the epic than to any other literary type, prose included. Abundant examples of the locution are cited below, more because of any interest in them reflected from Old French studies than because of their own inherent value. The most current *pensar de* locutions are: *pensar de adobar*, *pensar de andar*, *pensar de cavalgar*, *pensar de yr*.

Allí pienssan de aguijar *Cid* 10
penssemos de cavalgar *Cid* 320
pienssan de ensellar *Cid* 324

[1] *The Use of the Infinitive instead of a Finite Verb in French.* Columbia Univ. Diss., 1916.

pensemos de ir nuestra vía *Cid* 380
pienssen de andar *Cid* 389
pienssa de cavalgar *Cid* 394
pienssan de cavalgar *Cid* 413
pienssan de enviar *Cid* 647
piénssanse de adobar *Cid* 681
penssedes de folgar *Cid* 1028
piénssanse de tornar *Cid* 1152
pensólas de adobar *Cid* 1426
Penssaron de adobar . . . el palaçio *Cid* 2205
de cavalgar penssavan *Cid* 2609
Piénssanse de ir *Cid* 2644
Penssad, señor, de entrar a la cibdad *Cid* 3046
penso luego de dar *Alix* 381
pensaron de folgar *Alix* 435
pensadlo de lidiar *Alix* 454
pensaron de feryr *Alix* 587
pensarien de rrobar *Alix* 724
pensaron de sallir *Alix* 735
pensaronse . . . de aguisar *Alix* 1073
piensa de caualgar *Alix* 1313, 1316
pensauan todos de cameras prender *Alix* 1536
penso luego de yr *Alix* 1554
pensaron de fuyr *Alix* 1691
pensaron de tornar *Alix* 1737
pensalo de pelear *Alix* 1786
pensaron de dolar *Alix* 1994
piensa de cavalgar *Alix* 2273
pensolo de guiar *SDom* 19
piensa la de uengar *SDom* 425
pensaron de serujr *SDom* 442
pensso de pressear *SDom* 574
Desent amonestados que piensen de orar *Sac* 248
piensen bien de rogar *Sac* 248
piense Oria de ir a su logar *SOria* 102
Pensó de ir su via alegre e pagado *Mil* 213
pensemosla nos de servir e honrrar *Mil* 430
Desende el pensarie de ferlo buen christiano *Mil* 575
pensatla de guardar *Mil* 863
pensose de mover *SMill* 77

. . . pensaron de dolar,
Lo que era de sobra en luengo acortar,
Çimentar las iunturas, los piedes asentar *SMill* 227
piensesnos de acorrer *Loor* 223
pensemos de tornar *SLaur* 17
Pensat de almorzar *SLaur* 104
Pensaron los ministros malos de atizar *SLaur* 102
pensaron de los cometer de cada parte *Cron* 103b52
penso el . . . de afogar en donado a Octauia *Cron* 125b22
penso de yr a uedar gelo *Cron* 232b24
penssaron de andar *Cron* 414a45
penssat de ampararuos et defenderuos *Cron* 439b38
penssaron de caualgar et de yrse *Cron* 440a22

Also: *Cid* 227, 376, 391, 426, 432, 537, 643, 645, 949, 970, 1077, 1283, 1430, 1440, 1448, 1473, 1680, 1688, 1821, 2870, 2873, 2900; *Alix* 375, 1613, 1723, 1726, 1947, 2172, 2217, 2274, 2275, 2378; *Sac* 293; *SDom* 579; *SMill* 227; *Duelo* 7; *Cron* 288b9, 293b9, 342b20, 526b27, 739a42, 764b36, etc.

pleytear.

pleyteo de dar a Athila . . . la cibdat de Orlens *Cron* 234b30

poner.

This interesting verb appears three times in the poetry and commonly in the *Crónica* with the *de*-infinitive. It has approximately the sense of *resolver, decretar.* It is found not infrequently joined with such phrases as *en su coraçon* and *en su voluntad.* The infinitive with *en* is also noted, but with a literal sense, in both verb and preposition: *Ponian toda femençia en fer a Dios serviçio,* SOria 13.

en vno lo han puesto de vencer o moryr *Alix* 904
auie puesto de yr a Bracta çercar *Alix* 1702

In the first citation above, the *de*-infinitive is really in apposition with *lo.*

Pusieron e iuraron de dar todas sazones,
A Sant Millan cada casa de dar tres pipiones *SMill* 461
auie puesto de non casar *Cron* 11b31

pusieron en sos coraçones de uencer o de morir *Cron* 19b27
puso en so coraçon de non se yr daquella tierra *Cron* 47b43
pusieron en sus uoluntades de destroyr Carthago *Cron* 49a9
pusieron . . . de tornar a ella e destroylla *Cron* 49a15
puso de fazer rey . . . a don Ramiro *Cron* 389a46
pusieron con ell de dargelos *Cron* 565a3
. . . ouiesse puesto de guerrear a don Alffonsso *Cron* 682b37
pusieran con el de uenirle *Cron* 697a33

Also: *Cron* 40a3, 102b25, 117b35, 136b52, 293a35, 457a34.

prouar.

prouo tres uezes de la matar a pozon *Cron* 124b43
. . . que prouauan ya de se comer unos a otros *Cron* 209b24

punnar.

Similarity in sense and syntax is noted between *punnar* and *trabaiarse* with infinitive. The prepositions *de* and *en* are used with both. The *Crónica* is the only one of our texts yielding examples of either verb with infinitive, though in this they are comparatively abundant. With *punnar* and *trabaiarse* we have two very good examples of the *relative de*-infinitive (*relative to, in the matter of*, etc.).

punno de contender mas con Cipion *Cron* 23a20
punnaua de seruir a so tio *Cron* 106a34
punnaua de la componer de gestos much espantosos *Cron* 116a19
poco punnaremos de demostrar la estoria dellos complidamientre *Cron* 242b19
. . . et que punnassen de auer por amigo all emperador *Cron* 250b50
punno de auiuar et de aluorosçar los pueblos *Cron* 269b7
punnaron de deffender se dellos *Cron* 269b39
mas punnaran de foyr *Cron* 289b26
. . . et punnasses de alçar te rey *Cron* 292b33
. . . et punnassen . . . de derramar por el su sangre *Cron* 293a3
punnaron de acoger se a la uilla *Cron* 314b43
punnaron los omnes de acoger se todos a ella *Cron* 315a9

Also: *Cron* 21b28, 22b7, 22b19, 48b49, 51a24, 51a28, 321b13,

324b1, 333b1, 382a16, 406a4, 413b16, 417b24, 552a15, 558b38, 607b6, 730a18.21.26, 730b8, 766a5.

quedar.

With *de*-infinitive *quedar* forms one of the regular constructions of the *Crónica*, but elsewhere is not noted. *Fincar de* has much the same sense, but is not so frequent. It is interesting that the negative appears in nearly all passages having the *quedar* locution. No other infinitive constructions with *quedar* are at hand.

non quedaua de guisarse pora lidiar *Cron* 19b49
numqua quedaron de guerrear *Cron* 44b5
numqua quedaua de los matar e de los destroyr *Cron* 49b27
non quedauan de destroyr la cibdat *Cron* 50a55
nunqua quedaua de punnar en ello *Cron* 138b40
numqua quedo de estudiar *Cron* 157b46
no quedaron de dezir *Cron* 185b22
no quedare de orar *Cron* 195a38
numqua quedaua de andar en guerra *Cron* 213a7
ni queda de espantar las uezindades con los roydos *Cron* 236a40
non queda con su enuidia de uuscar le mal *Cron* 305a31
non quedo de guerrear con moros *Cron* 390a44

Also: *Cron* 40a41, 149b1, 236a36, 390a38, 458a37, 459b20, 484b8, 528a11, 553a23, 660a27, 734b50, 743b20.

temer.

The pure infinitive is also found with *temer*. For similar sense and treatment, compare *dubdar*. The ethical dative reflexive is noted with *temer* more often than not: *temiosse de affrontarse con el*, Cron 665a48. The *Alixandre* and *San Millan* each offer one instance of *temer*. The rest are limited to the *Crónica*, a situation representative of many verbs taking the *de*-infinitive.

temien de caualgar *Alix* 1311
temie de peccar *SMill* 76
non uos temades de perder el seruicio *Cron* 394a24
ca de alcançarlos ninguno, non se temien *Cron* 411a15
ca se temie de perder el regno por y *Cron* 422a36

temiendose de matarse uno a otro *Cron* 466a15
se temien de perder toda la tierra *Cron* 557a15
temiendose de yr en perdicion *Cron* 749a37

The reflexives in most of the citations above seem to go with *temer*, not merely because of their position, but also because, when the infinitive takes a reflexive, the author does not object to two reflexive pronouns in close proximity to each other, as in *temiendose de matarse*. Theoretically, however, in some passages the reflexive pronoun may be considered as belonging to either *temer* or the infinitive, irrespective of its position.

trabaiarse.

For similarity of sense and syntax in *punnar* and *trabaiarse* with infinitive, see *punnar* above. The pure infinitive, and those with *en* and *por*, are noted with *trabaiarse*, though the *de*-construction is considerably the most frequent. The *Crónica* is again the only text yielding examples.

trabaiosse de ganar lo al *Cron* 16b27
trabaios de cercar le alli *Cron* 58b50
el rey Artaz quisiera se trabaiar de auer guerra *Cron* 60b32
trabaios . . . de enbargar el fecho de Pompeyo *Cron* 62a20
trabaiosse de ganar del senado . . . *Cron* 62a43
trabaiaron se de foyr *Cron* 63b6
trabaios de meiorar su fazienda *Cron* 127a49
trabaiosse de lo auer por fuerça *Cron* 130a41
se trabaio de seer a plazer de todos los omnes *Cron* 138a54
non se trabaiaua de deffender la tierra *Cron* 169a39
se trabaiaua de meiorar ell estado dell emperio *Cron* 171a3
trabaiosse de lo engannar *Cron* 187a10
trabaiosse de conuertir a Arrio *Cron* 190b39

Also: *Cron* 152a45, 158a10, 183a36, 219a4, 245a44, 246a6, 250b53, 267b6, 273b6, 285a44, 308a30, 327b50, 331b26, 382a12, 384a28, 400a14, 451a12, 463a20.

tratar.

Trataron de sue regla quando fueron iuntados,
De reformar los viçios *SMill* 204

usar.

This verb, with infinitive, is employed as an emphatic substitute for the imperfect indicative, though by no means currently. The very common English equivalent is to be remarked: a aquella eglesia misma *usaua* el rey . . . *de yr* a maytines, *Cron* 490a22 (to that very church the king *used* . . . *to go* to matins). The *de*-infinitive is the regular construction with *usar*, though those with *a* and without preposition occur. Again the *Crónica* is unique in offering examples.

uso de fazer aquestas cosas *Cron* 123a29
usaua mucho de tirar de ballesta *Cron* 140a10
non usaua de ser a judgar nin dar juyzios *Cron* 387b21
. . . que usasse y de fazer ell officio *Cron* 544b21
usauan de uenir guerrear a Toledo *Cron* 707a19

The de-Infinitive as Object of Verb Locutions

33. There is little difference in the function of the infinitive in this section and in the last, i.e. the infinitive is a *de*-object in both cases. There is, however, the essential difference that in the citations of this section the infinitive cannot be construed with any single verb. The infinitive must be considered as the object of the whole verb locution, as otherwise violence would be done to the evident sense of the passages. A good illustration is at hand in *auer en voluntad de*, where the *en voluntad* makes all the difference between the *necessity* or *possibility* commonly associated with *auer de*, and the *will* clearly present in *auer en voluntad de*. Another type in this group is illustrated by *touo por meior de morir que non fazer ninguna destas cosas*, Cron 38a13, where the sense is *to consider . . . as . . . .* Of this type may be mentioned *escoger por meior, fallar por bien, judgar por guisado, tener guisado, tener por mal, tener por meior*, etc. In such instances as *non lo tengo por seso averes tan granados, meterlo a aventura*, Alix 908, *meterlo* is in apposition with the *lo* preceding. If this *lo* were omitted, *meterlo* would be the object of *tengo por seso*.

Various paraphrases of simple verb senses are likewise noted in this group, e.g. *auer en uso* for *usar*, *auer en costumbre* and *auer por costumbre* for *ser acostumbrado*, etc. On the whole, the locutions of this section serve a considerable range of thought, and, because of their ease of adaptation to individual needs, they assist the language toward a greatly increased flexibility of expression. It is a conspicuous fact that the prose *Crónica* is the only one of these early texts yielding examples of their use with *de*-infinitive.

auer a coraçon.

This is the most frequent locution of its class. *Coraçon* is also associated with *tener*, *leuar* and *meter;* see below. The *lo* of *todos lo auien a coraçon de se matar*, Cron 288a13, being the object of *auien*, the infinitive is again in apposition with the object: see paragraph above.

. . . que yo auia tan a coraçon de guardar *Cron* 39b54
auiendo muy a coraçon de non dexar ningunos *Cron* 69a33
tanto auie a coraçon de se yr pora Roma *Cron* 129a18
ouo muy mas a coraçon de yr contra el *Cron* 132a24
auie much a coraçon de seruir a so tio *Cron* 107b33
auiendo muy a coraçon de acrescentar . . . el regno *Cron* 255a26
auiendo todos a coraçon de seruir a Dios . . . *Cron* 325a16

Also: *Cron* 59a33, 171a13, 190b50, 245a18, 288a13, 325a16, 341a19, 369a34, 474a39.

auer en costumbre.

auien . . . en costumbre de dexar los cabellos crecer *Cron* 90a13
auie en costumbre desquel nacieran baruas de las no traer *Cron* 129b54
auie en costumbre de escoier oras sennaladas *Cron* 139a44
auie siempre en costumbre de los llamar tinnuela *Cron* 193b52
siempre auie el en costumbre de llamar a Ihesu Cristo Galileo *Cron* 201a37
nunqua ouo en costumbre de omillarse a ninguna mugier *Cron* 340b4

auer por costumbre.

This locution closely resembles *auer en costumbre.* The same thought is expressed in *por esto auie costumbrado de traer . . . los cabellos de tras a la fruente,* Cron 92b51, where the *auie costumbrado* does not represent an ordinary pluperfect sense.

auie por costumbre de se espantar entre suennos *Cron* 92b47
auie por costumbre de comer carne crua *Cron* 126a36
an por costumbre de alabarse quando son bienandantes, et de chufar et de fazer grandes nueuas de si et escarnescer a los otros *Cron* 502b40
auien por costumbre de degollarle *Cron* 504b1
auie por costunbre . . . de fazer su predicacion muy noble *Cron* 642a48

auer en uso.

This locution paraphrases *usar.*

ouieron . . . en vso de heredar los fijos en los bienes de los padres *Cron* 357b20

auer en voluntad.

ouiera en voluntad de passarse a Affrica *Cron* 212a41

escoger por meior.

escogieron por meior de morir *Cron* 228a51

fallar por bien.

With *de*-infinitive *tener por bien* is more often noted than *fallar por bien.*

fallaron por bien de auer entre si . . . sennos cabdiellos *Cron* 86a12

judgar por guisado.

More frequent is *tener (por) guisado* below.

judgando por guisado de dar omne a las uezes logar a la sanna que uiene *Cron* 682b20

leuar en coraçon.

Other useful *coraçon* locutions include *auer a coraçon, tener en coraçon* and *meter en coraçon,* all with *de*-infinitive.

leuaua Julio Cesar en coraçon de cometer . . . a Ponpeyo et lidiar con ellos *Cron* 67a39
leuaua en coraçon de cobrar et cometer . . . a Julio Cesar et lidiar con el *Cron* 81a37
leuaua en coraçon de matar all yerno *Cron* 181a52
leuauan en coraçon de me las desonrrar et de las ferir et de las dexar *Cron* 619b30

meter en coraçon.

Cf. *leuar en coraçon* above.

. . . que uos meta en coraçon de sacarle ende *Cron* 355a20

Tener is more generally utilized in locutions of this group than any other single verb, *auer* included, though the latter is quite frequent. *Tener* has the sense of *to consider, to take for,* in *tener por bien, tener por dura cosa, tener (por) guisado, tener por mal* and *tener por meior,* while in the following locutions *tener* is employed literally: *tener a voluntad, tener en voluntad* and *tener en coraçon.*

tener a voluntad.

non teniendo a voluntad de fazer estonçe lo que ellos recelauan *Cron* 749a19

tener en voluntad.

tenien en voluntat de venir *Cron* 575b2

tener en coraçon.

Auer a coraçon occurs even more frequently than *tener en coraçon.*

no tenie en coraçon de numqua tornar *Cron* 39b36
. . . non que touiesse en coraçon de lo complir *Cron* 378b19
tenie . . . en coraçon de yr *Cron* 64a21
teniendo el en coraçon de passar a Affrica *Cron* 234a3

Also: *Cron* 541b12, 557b22.

tener por bien.

Next to *auer a coraçon* this is the most frequent locution of this section. The use of *bien, mal* and *meior* is notable with such verbs as *tener, escoger, fallar* and *judgar: touo por meior de*

morir, Cron 38a13; *escogieron por meior de morir*, Cron 228a51; *fallaron por bien de auer entre si . . . sennos cabdiellos*, Cron 86a12.

non touieron por bien de les foyr la batalla *Cron* 20a3
non tovo por bien de partille dAffrica *Cron* 23a15
touieron por bien de dexar aquella lauor *Cron* 28a12
touo por bien del yr ueer *Cron* 38b21
ternien por bien de « rey de las Espannas » . . . de mudarse este nombre et llamarse « emperador » *Cron* 654a23

Also: *Cron* 36a37, 342b2, 349a4, 447a24, 447a26, 447a4.

tener por dura cosa, etc.

Cosa is extremely rare in these phrases, because the adjective, or adverb alone, suffices for the expression of the thought involved, and is less clumsy.

tenie por dura cosa . . . de lidiar con sus vezinos *Cron* 223a40
tenie por cosa desaguisada de dexar le assi la tierra *Cron* 223a42

tener (por) guisado.

Por is here expressed or omitted at will. *Guisado* is also noted in *judgar por guisado* and *tener por cosa desaguisada* with *de*-infinitive object.

no touiera guisado de lo seer en ninguno logar *Cron* 79b40
touieron por guisado de llamarlos « tribunos » *Cron* 86a19
non tenie guisado de salir a el *Cron* 254a27
non teniendo guisado de salir a ellos solo *Cron* 424b20
touo por guysado de auer linage de tan noble cauallo *Cron* 641a47

tener por mal.

tenie por mal de tenerse ell omne uicioso *Cron* 520b4

tener por meior.

touo por meior de morir que non fazer ninguna destas cosa *Cron* 38a13

tomar en uso.

tomaron los cristianos en uso de dezir que . . . *Cron* 361a2

THE DE-INFINITIVE WITH LEXAR, PROMETER, ETC.

34. Concerning the *de*-infinitive as accusative of thing with verbs taking a dative of person and an accusative of thing, Diez[1] says: "L'application de la préposition n'est rigoureusement observée qu'en français; l'italien n'y renonce pas volontiers, mais l'espagnol peut s'en passer avec la plupart des verbes." He then gives seven examples, of which only one contains *de*, and in one of which *de* is optional.

A conclusive criticism cannot be made of Diez's statement at this time, inasmuch as his work is not confined to any one epoch. Yet he would seem to put too much emphasis on the pure infinitive with these verbs, at least in so far as concerns the limited period herein studied. The preposition *de* is decidedly regular for such constructions in these texts. In fact, the verbs classed under this section take the pure infinitive very rarely, although *otorgouos lo yo*, Alix 1590, illustrates the type with ordinary objects. It is interesting, however, to note that *por* and *pora* with infinitive are found replacing the more clearly objective *de*-infinitive: see *iurar*, *ordenar*, and *prometer* below.

It will be seen that the class is not large in any case, and might well be included in § 32, dealing with the *de*-infinitive object without special regard to the indirect personal object, because this does not in any way change the function of the infinitive. This classification is followed for convenience of reference to Otto's work for the Portuguese and to numerous grammars in which such verbs form a distinct group. In general they are verbs of *ordering*, *promising*, *permitting*.

consentir.

This verb is an excellent illustration of the group, two of the three citations below having the personal object present. *Consentir* is also used with the pure and *en*-infinitives.

nim consentiesse a ellos de morar en la tierra *Cron* 250a43
non quiso el consentir de seerlo *Cron* 284a5
les non querie el consentir de fazer las trauessuras *Cron* 465a41

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 214.

iurar (y-, j-).

In only one instance is *yurar(se)* noted with personal object: *yuraron se de no seruille*, Cron 129a49. With weakened purpose present, but attaining approximately the same objective result, this verb may be used with *por*-infinitive: *anbos son sobre ti por matarte jurados*, Alix 1669.

Pusieron e iuraron de dar todas sazones,
A Sant Millan cada casa de dar tres pipiones *SMill* 461
yuraron de fazer quant aquellos mandassen *Cron* 46b49
aunque juraria de esto non falsar *SDom* 427
juraron de vengarse todos *Alix* 2535
yuraron se de no seruille *Cron* 129a49
yurara de seer le leal a ell et a la tierra *Cron* 292b46
yuremos sobrella de la aguardar *Cron* 414b23

lexar (see *lexar*, § 20).

This verb occurs once with the pure infinitive, and once with *de*.

de beuir con varones mi ley non me lexa *Alix* 1863

ordenar.

This verb, though comparatively rare with infinitive, and in the two cases below not having an indirect object of person present, is a verb quite naturally falling in this class. *Por-* and *pora*-infinitives also occur with *ordenar: ordeno su fecho pora salir*, Cron 604a38.

estos que ellos ordenauan de poner *Cron* 87a47
ordeno de fazer . . . sus cortes *Cron* 540a15

otorgar.

No other infinitive use is noted with *otorgar*.

le otorgaua de ge le dar *Cron* 371a47
otorgaron de lo fazer assy *Cron* 610b9
Dios me a otorgado de vencer esta fazienda *Cron* 635b23
tengolas todas por muy buenas, et otorgo de seer en ellas *Cron* 666a29

prometer.

This is the most representative verb of the group; nearly

all the citations below illustrate the use of the indirect object of person and direct object of thing (here replaced by the infinitive). *Por*-infinitive is noted with *prometer voto* in *Por partirme del mundo voto e prometido*, SMill 16.

. . . quel prometiera de fazer grandes onras *Cron* 39a50
me prometio de fer enperador *Alix* 1141
Prometiale Dario a buena fe e sana,
sy el canpo rrancase, de darle su hermana *Alix* 1386
prometieronle de seer leales *Cron* 284a19
prometieran a Paulo de ayudarle *Cron* 286b2
prometedme de me tener poridat *Cron* 428a20
prometi de non tornar a mi tierra *Cron* 428a28
auie yurado ya et prometido al rey . . . de ayudarle *Cron* 452b13
prometioles de fazer . . . *Cron* 624a15

The de-Infinitive Indicating Cause

35. Diez states that the infinitive may replace a noun in those locutions of verb and noun in which the relation of *means, cause, separation* or *aversion* is expressed by the preposition *de*. The truth of this statement can be tested in the constructions cited below, where the substitution of a noun for the infinitive can usually be made with no violence to the sense. The distinction between the *de* expressing *cause* and *means*, and the *relative de* becomes extremely slight at times: *desesperauan ya de poder escapar a uida*, Cron 75a14; *se gozaua siempre de matar omnes*, Cron 220b48. None of the locutions listed below (nor those cited under the *de* of *means*, § 37) occur very frequently in the early language, yet *cause* and *means* are basic senses of this preposition.

alabarse.

daqui adelante de guardar fe non me puedo alabar *Cron* 541b21

auer verguença.

si as uerguença de seer yo tu mugier tan linda *Cron* 43a39
deuias aver verguença de comigo te tomar *Alix* 2188

No preposition is used specifically with the infinitive in:

Io verguenza avria al mi fijo rogar *Mil* 780
deurie auer verguença ante otros fablar *Alix* 1261

cans(s)ar.

This verb is represented only by its past participle.

cansados de matar *Cron* 136b2
canssados de lidiar *Cron* 441a10

castigarse.

Indicating *purpose*, the *pora*-infinitive is found with *castigarse*.

los que se castigassen de fazer mal *Cron* 3b33

desesperar.

This verb might well be classed, perhaps, under the *relative de*.

desesperauan ya de poder escapar a uida *Cron* 75a14

dolerse.

The double use of *de* before subject and infinitive is of particular interest in this instance:

doliendosse de tan nobles mugieres cuemo aquellas de perderse assi *Cron* 220a20

en(n)oiarse.

se enoiaua de matarlos *Cron* 227a39
de fablar del buen Sancto no nos ennoiariamos *SDom* 752

fallarse mal.

de lexar lo a vida temiense mal fallar *Alix* 1722

perder.

tu non perdrias nada de conmigo venir *SOria* 158

preçiarse.

The *en*-infinitive also occurs with *preçiarse*.

se preçiauan de fazer de coraçon bien *Cron* 703b35
se preciauan de disputar *Cron* 191a44

The de-Infinitive Indicates Separation

36. The function of the preposition illustrated in this section is one most natural to *de*. It is not necessary to look for the subtle distinctions found in the *relative de*, or in the *de* of *cause* and *means*. In determining the members of this group, the simple test of reading the context with *de* in the sense of *from* may be applied. Thus the individual verbs vary all the way from *partir(se)*, with which the *de* of *separation* is quite literal and objective, to *curiar* and *guardar*, where a figurative interpretation may be necessary, although the original concept is clearly present. There is nearly always some sense of motion, objective or subjective, to be felt in these locutions, the best examples of this type of verb being *partir(se)*, *desuiarse*, *leuantarse*, *rancar*, *tornar*, *venir*. Less evident, though implied, motion appears in *despertar*, *guardar*, *tenerse*, and *escusar*. As a class, the verbs of *separation* are stronger and more frequent than those of *cause* or *means*.

curiar.

Bien te curieste, madre, de non lo façer *Loor* 20
dios curie mis amigos de prender tal mandado *Alix* 221

despertar.

The only instance of *despertar* with the *de* of *separation* employs the infinitive as a noun.

desperto del dormir *Cron* 340b49

detardarse.

nos detardan de adobasse essas yentes cristianas *Cid* 1700

desuiarse.

The identical use of noun and infinitive with the *de* of *separation* is to be remarked in this passage:

començo a desuiarse de la paz de los romanos de non la querer tener ni auerla con ellos *Cron* 234a20

escusar(se).

This verb appears both as transitive and reflexive.

escusolo Parmenio que por bien lo veyen
de yr a cometer los . . . *Alix* 898
bien sabian escusarse de ganar enemigos *SDom* 6
non se pudieron escusar de non fazer lo que el Çid querie *Cron* 562a26

guardar(se).

In one instance, *guardar* taking *de*-infinitive is a transitive, elsewhere reflexive. This verb found a most natural place in the early religious language.

Bien vos a Dios guardada de caer en es lazo *Mil* 532
guarda te de peccar *SDom* 313
en fechos e en dichos se guardan de pecar *Alix* 2373
bien vos guardastes de darme hospedado *Sig* 33
guardando se . . . de non matar si non quanto menos el podie *Cron* 69b28
. . . que se guardassen . . . de aorar los ydolos *Cron* 120b51
guardosse de fazer mal a los cristianos *Cron* 168a1
punnaron en guardarse de fazer mal fecho *Cron* 392b39
uos guardedes de caer en yerro *Cron* 419b24

leuantarse.

The pure infinitive and that with *a*, *por* and *pora* are found with *leuantarse* expressing various degrees of *purpose*. When *yantar* appears as the infinitive, as in the first passage below, it may be suspected of having largely a substantival force.

leuantosse el Çid . . . de yantar *Cron* 613b44
se auie leuantado de dormir *Cron* 632a49

partirse.

All the examples of this verb with *de*-infinitive come from the *Crónica*. It is rather surprising that there are no illustrations at hand of *partir* used intransitively with *de*-infinitive, but actually all are reflexive. *Partirse* also occurs with *pora*-infinitive.

non les abondo partir se ellos dell imperio obedecer *Cron* 168a20
se partio Muça de fazerle mal *Cron* 365b22
non se partiendo aun de lidiar et de uuscarse mucho mal unos a otros *Cron* 367b23

nunqua se partirie de guerrearle et de fazerle quanto mal pudiesse *Cron* 373b6
. . . que se non partiessen de guerrear al rey *Cron* 382a28
partieronse de lidiar los unos de los otros *Cron* 558a23

quitarse.

quitosse . . . de guerrear *Cron* 325b6
se quitarie el rey . . . de demandarles ninguna cosa *Cron* 557a13
non se quitarie de fazerle quanto mal pudiesse *Cron* 568a40

rancar.

De subir en cauallo non lo pudieron rancar *Alix* 1722

retenerse.

non se retouo de fazer toda nemiga *Cron* 304b3

tenerse.

se podie el philosopho tener de fablar *Cron* 146b22

tornar(se).

Two examples of this construction come from the *Cid*. Menéndez-Pidal considers that the locution *tornar de* adds practically nothing to the simple verb. It is treated in this section, because it is evident that *tornar de* may be a verb of *separation*, even if it has little or none of this sense in certain individual cases. According to Menéndez Pidal,[1] *tornan de castigar*, Cid 383, is equivalent to *castigan*, while *se sonrrio* might well replace *tornós de sonrrisar*, Cid 2889. Such cases would indicate the *relative de* rather than the *de* of *separation*. The construction was so rare in any case that a conclusive argument cannot be based on examples, but it does appear somewhat radical to give *tornar de* no meaning whatever. If it is perchance true, as Menéndez Pidal states, that *querer*, *fazer*, *mandar*, *ir*, *tornar*, *pensar* and *conpeçar* became at times so weakened as to mean little or nothing, it would seem to be equivalent to maintaining that early Spanish might well have dispensed with some of its most racy and frequent expressions.

[1] *Cid*, § 161, 2.

One example of the *de* of *separation* with *tornar* is noted in the *Crónica*, but here the infinitive is marked as a substantive: *se torno a Burgos de su andar*, Cron 434a43. *Tornar* was of course more current with the pure infinitive and that with *a*, *por*, *pora* and *para* expressing *purpose*.

venir (u-).

More frequent occurrence than is actually at hand of *venir* with the *de*-infinitive of *separation* is to be expected from its frequency of use in other constructions. The locution did not progress as far in Old Spanish as it did in French, where it came to express an adverbial concept (*venir de* commonly rendered by *to have just*).

vinia de leyer *Alix* 32
quando de correr monte vengo o de caçar *Alix* 356
Do se vinie el de complir su follia *Mil* 81
uinie de destroyr los cossarios *Cron* 61b24
todos los que fallaua que uinien de cenar de sus posadas, firielos muy mal *Cron* 123a16
uinie de coger su pan *Cron* 129b24

The de-Infinitive Indicating Means

37. For a discussion of the preposition *de* expressing *means* and *cause*, cf. § 35. Certain of the verbs listed below (*fartarse*, *gozarse*, *pagarse*) might be classed as well under the *relative de* or the *de* of *cause;* e.g. *Nos fartan de catarle*, Cid 3495, may be rendered *they are never satisfied by means of*, or *in the matter of, watching him.* This group, like that of *cause*, is quite small, and the individual verbs in it are all rare in this construction.

adobar.

Comer is the infinitive in each of the two cases of *adobar* with the *de* of *means*. *Comer* may be largely substantival in force.

el Çid mando adobar de comer *Cron* 601a11
en adobar de comer . . . *Cron* 704a40

amenazar.

amenazaron a Maria de la matar *Cron* 135a53

dar pena.

de lazar e de fanbre dauan li fiera pena *SDom* 355

fartarse.

Nos fartan de catarle quantos ha en la cort *Cid* 3495
non se fartaua el rey de tener oio al Çid *Cron* 601a8

gozarse.

As a transitive verb, *gozar* is found once with pure infinitive.

se gozaua siempre de matar omnes *Cron* 220b48

menazar.

elli los menazaua de meter en farropeas *SDom* 735

pagarse.

de ujuir en tal guisa sabe Dios non me pago *SDom* 64
se pagaua de comer *Cron* 93a4
Pagauasse muy poco de la uanagloria . . . ni de se mostrar por ufanero *Cron* 149b35

The de-Infinitive with Substantives

38. This group is one of the most important of infinitive constructions. Theoretically it is almost unlimited. Practically there are only the limits of sense and connotation of the individual substantive. Aside from the ordinary attributive use of the *de*-infinitive with a noun (*seso de fablar*, Mil 691; *escuela de cantar*, Mil 354; *edad de casar*, Cron 654b20; *tiempo de casar*, Cron 22a34), probably the most frequently utilized type of this construction was the combination of verb and noun in approximately the same sense as a simple verb, and taking the *de*-infinitive as did also the simple verb. Some examples of this process have been noted above, but they come most appropriately under this section, as evidenced by the fact

that the noun element remains constant while the verb and modifiers of the noun vary: e.g. *miedo de* (with infinitive) in:

Non aiades *nul miedo* de caer en porfazo *Mil* 532
auja muy *grant mjedo* de seer iustiçiado *SDom* 747
todos auien *miedo* de seyer mal andantes *Alix* 2005
por miedo de seer uençudos *Cron* 98b29
Cogieron muchos *miedo* de façer tal peccado *Mil* 410

In these instances it is evident that each citation illustrates a distinct type of the *miedo de* (with infinitive) construction, three variously modified with *auer*, and one with *coger*, as the verb. Likewise, all are variants for the simple verbal concept of *fearing*, ordinarily expressed by *temer* or *dubdar*. Other illustrations of this principle are *ouieron acuerdo de fazer un teatro*, Cron 27b53, *auer acuerdo* being a variant for *acordar; non aves de salvarte deseo*, Mil 190, *auer deseo* being used for *desear; pavor avria de seer engannado*, Mil 641, *auer pauor* like *auer miedo* replacing *temer* or *dubdar; auer grant cobdiçia de salvar los errados*, Duelo 38, *auer cobdiçia* standing for *cobdiçiar*. Another field of usefulness of the noun with *de*-infinitive was in prepositional phrases, where the noun employed necessitated the *de*-infinitive, if a dependent verb followed: *En logar de servirte*, SMill 104; *En uez de castigar los otros*, Cron 111b6; *por razon de sacar aun mas auer*, Cron 684a33. Frequency of use caused some of these locutions, as opposed to others of less frequent use, to be considered and felt as units (see §77, composed prepositions).

The noun and dependent infinitive may also express the *necessity* or *futurity* noted in the *ser* locutions with *a* and *de* (for which in Latin the gerund or gerundive was employed: *Carthago delenda est*): *es a yr*, Alix 656; *non son de creyer*, Alix 2194; *mucho es de temer*, Sig 69; and the *de*-infinitive with nouns in *fijas de casar*, Cid 2082; *varon de alabar et sabio*, Cron 718a50; *dardos . . . de alançar*, Cron 54a47. The active infinitive is rarer in this construction: *non so yo omne de alçarme con tierra*, Cron 419a10; *uarones de meter espanto*, Cron 691a13.

acuerdo.

Cf. *acordar* with *de*-infinitive, § 35.

ouo con ella su acuerdo de poblar Caliz *Cron* 11b4
ouieron acuerdo de desamparar toda la tierra *Cron* 18b47
ouieron acuerdo de fazer un teatro *Cron* 27b53

armas.

con armas de lidiar *Cid* 639

bollicio.

The infinitive is here marked as a noun.

del bollicio del lidiar *Cron* 60a21

braueza.

la enuidia e la braueza de seer contra el *Cron* 59a50

carrera.

serie carrera de auer todos paz *Cron* 410b15

çiençia.

on as çiençia De cantar otra missa *Mil* 225

cobdiçia.

Auer cobdiçia is a variant for *cobdiçiar*.

havie grant cobdiçia de salvar los errados *Duelo* 38
de comer ovo copdiçia *Duelo* 64

conseio.

Non havia conseio de haver nul sabor *Duelo* 18
ouieron so conseio de despoblarla e yr buscar otro logar *Cron* 20a50

dardos.

dardos . . . de alançar *Cron* 54a47

deseo.

Auer deseo stands as a variant for *desear*.

De ganar la tu gracia siempre ovi deseo *SOria* 103
De furtarlo han grant deseo *Duelo* 187
non aves de salvarte deseo *Mil* 190

The customary *de* does not govern the infinitive in *Mil* 638, but is probably omitted for metrical reasons because of the proximity of *de vos: Ganar de vos empresto avria grant deseo.*

desuergonçamiento.

este desuergonçamiento de cantar *Cron* 122a41

dia.

Oy es dia de paresçer *Duelo* 190
Quando vino el dia de las bodas correr *Mil* 336

duelo.

con duelo de las perder *Cron* 93b32

edad.

a edad de seer caualleros *Cron* 346b44
en edad de casar et de fazer heredero *Cron* 654b20

enoio.

con enoio de yazer *Cron* 116a24

entencion.

a entencion de fincar el solo *Cron* 65b15

escuela.

escuela de cantar e leer *Mil* 354

fecho.

en fecho de armas et de caualgar *Cron* 93a26

feuza.

Ovieron grant feuza de seer allumnados *SMill* 323

fijas.

The *futurity* of the *de*-infinitive in *fijas de casar*, Cid 2082, is indicated by Menéndez Pidal's rendering of the phrase by *casaderas* (*marriageable*).

gana.

Three instances of *gana* with *de*-infinitive come from the *Milagros*.

por gana de aver *Mil* 239
Prísol al iudezno de comulgar grant gana *Mil* 356
con gana de en grant preçio sobir *Mil* 741

guisa.

con guisa de mouer se daquel logar *Cron* 36b31

lumbre.

Spiritu Sancto lumbre de confortar *SOria* 1

manera.

una manera de fazer duelo *Cron* 55a41

mingua.

por mingua de escreuir los *Cron* 87b20

omnes.

The active force of the infinitive in the first citation below is to be noted.

omnes . . . de bien razonar *Cron* 691a9
omnes de prestar *Cron* 536b30, 773b20

ora.

The infinitive has an object in two out of the three following illustrations of (*h*)*ora* with dependent infinitive.

Venida es la hora de prender la soldada *Mil* 136
agora somos en ora de rancar *Duelo* 89
en hora estaba de la alma echar *Duelo* 158

paramiento.

Fazer paramiento is used as a variant for *parar*.

fizieron paramjento de prouar este omne *SDom* 94

pauor (-v-).

Auer pauor and *auer miedo* are variants for *temer* and *dubdar*.

pavor avria de seer engannado *Mil* 641
Ouo pauor el preso de seer enbargado *SDom* 711

periglo.

sin periglo de se perder por tempestad *Cron* 48b20

priessa.

la priessa de se meter en ellas *Cron* 638a20

razon.

This noun is most useful in prepositional phrases.

con razon de yr *Cron* 67a26
por razon de lidiar *Cron* 70b16
por razon de conquerilla *Cron* 27b25
en auer razon de non seer y *Cron* 77b13

sabor.

Auer sabor[1] is a variant for a simple verb of desire: *desear, gustar*. *Sabor* is also notable in composed prepositional phrases.

Avien . . . sabor de deportar *Mil* 355
Todos avien sabor de ferlis mal treveio *Mil* 893
de comer ovo copdiçia o sabor *Duelo* 64
muy grand sabor dacaballe *Cron* 28a2
por sabor de la acabar *Cron* 28a7
a sabor de cavalgar *Cid* 1190
sabor han de casar con sus fijas *Cid* 1902
Sabor abriedes de seer e de comer en el palaçio *Cid* 2208
por sabor que avía de algún moro matar *Cid* 2372
sabor a de velar en essa santidad *Cid* 3056

semeiança.

e por fazer su semeiança de recebir bien . . . a Ponpeyo *Cron* 81b9

tiempo.

Non vino tiempo aun de aqui habitar *SOria* 102
Despues verná el tiempo de la siella cobrar *SOria* 102
tiempo de regnar *Cron* 16b45
tiempo de casar *Cron* 22a34

uagar.

The locution *auer uagar de* is approximately equivalent to the rare impersonal verb, *uagar*.

ouieron uagar de enuiar por los otros *Cron* 45b48

uso.

el uso de llamar dinero a toda moneda *Cron* 99a34

[1] Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* II, p. 834.

The de-Infinitive with Adjectives

39. The genitive of the gerund, as used with adjectives in Latin, was replaced by the infinitive in the Romance Languages: *cupidus dominandi; muy cobdicioso de sennorear*, Cron 66b25. Diez[1] finds the infinitive with the adjective not non-existent in Latin, but in any case extremely rare. In Old Spanish the *relative de* (*in the matter of*, etc.) is regularly employed to introduce the infinitive dependent on an adjective: *acuciosos de uenir*, Cron 49a44; *buena es de catar*, Sac 190. In instances where the Romance infinitive replaces the ablative of the supine in Latin (*mirabile dictu, facilis cognitu*), the action is merely named without definite indication of active or passive sense: *ligera de fazer*, Cron 420b11; *dulçes de veyer*, Alix 1616; *duro de traer*, Cron 129b1. If it is desired to define the action as passive, the auxiliary with the past participle is used: *merezientes erades de seer enforcados*, SMill 276; *mereçiente era de seer fostigado*, Mil 359. The *de*-infinitive depending on an adjective may of course on occasion have a subject or an object: *Yo non seria digna de veer tan grant gloria*, SOria 35; *duechas de comer los cuerpos muertos*, Cron 209b28; *ligera de mantenerla . . . un prinçep*, Cron 692a27. The simple verb finds another circumlocution in the combination of *estar* or *ser* and adjective with *de*-infinitive: e.g. *estar cobdiçioso* being a variant for *auer cobdiçia* and *cobdiçiar* with *de*-infinitive. A number of past participles are included with the adjectives below, when it is evident that their adjectival force is proportionate to their verbal force: *numqua fuera ninguno atreuudo de las cerrar*, Cron 102b28; *eran uagarosos e descuydados de fazer ninguna cosa*, Cron 49a45; *de lidiar comigo tu fuste osado*, Alix 1763. The adjective is also found taking the infinitive with *por*, *pora*, *para* and *en*, the first three prepositions expressing various degrees of the purpose element so easily read into the infinitive relation, while *en* has a *place* or *manner* value (compare English *ready to go*): *prestos somos por conplir tu mandado*, Alix

[1] Diez, *Gram.* III, p. 216.

195; *nunca para comer vi cosa tan ligera*, Alix 799; *acucioso pora reçebir huespedes*, Cron 277a29; *En dar conseios malos era muy sabidor*, Mil 723.

adebdado.

somos nos adebdados de amar a aquellos *Cron* 4a4

aguìsado.

(*Guisarse* is used currently with *de-*, *por-*, *pora-* and *para-*infinitives. *Aguisado* has the *por*-infinitive in *nos por defendernos somos mal aguisados*, Alix 873):

de vengar nuestra onta era bien aguisado *Alix* 416
non era aguisado de en fasienda entrar *Alix* 1279
Somos bien aguisados de tornar e fuyr *Alix* 1915
sy fuesen los escudos de fablar aguisados *Alix* 2181
Todas bien aguisadas de calzar e de vestir *SOria* 142

Also: *Alix* 2215; *Mil* 525.

apareiado (-j-).

(It takes also the infinitives with *por* and *pora*).

apareiado era de obedeçerle et ayudarle *Cron* 648b8
de fer quanto mandares somos aparejados *Alix* 754

aspero.

This is an excellent example of the Romance infinitive for the Latin supine. In phrases of this type the action is named without being defined as active or passive. The feeling, however, is often for a passive sense in transitive infinitives.

aspero de andar *Cron* 128a37

atreuudo.

numqua fuera ninguno atreuudo de las cerrar *Cron* 102b28, 124a24

brauo (cf. *aspero* above):

ca era pauoroso e brauo de passar *SDom* 229

bueno (cf. *aspero* above. *Bueno* also takes infinitive constructions with *por*, *pora* and *para*).

bueno de escriuir *SDom* 335
bien bueno de rezar *Mil* 262
buena de entender *Sac* 107
buena es de catar *Sac* 190

caro (cf. *aspero* above).

es muy cara de fazer *Cron* 619b25

çertero.

This is a good example of the *relative de* with infinitive.

De exir de lazerio estaba bien çertero *SMill* 294

ciego.

This may be taken as either a *relative* or *causal de*-infinitive.

tanto estan ciegos de non saber *Cron* 185a20

çierto (cf. *certero* above).

çiertos de auer batalla *Cron* 759a40
çierto fuese de lo seer *Cron* 765a25

cobdiçioso.

The simple verb, *cobdiçiar*, is replaced occasionally by *estar* or *ser cobdiçioso de*.

de tornar a elli estaban cobdiçiosos *Duelo* 65
muy cobdiciosos de auer el sennorio *Cron* 57b9
muy cobdicioso de sennorear *Cron* 66b25

contrario (cf. *aspero* above).

era la gota contraria de sanar *SDom* 416

delantero.

De exir al torneo tu seras delantero *SMill* 287

delectoso (cf. *aspero* above).

muy sabroso et muy delectoso de comer et de beuer *Cron* 266b6

derechero (cf. *aspero* above).

muy derecheros de onrrar et de temer *Cron* 691a14

desesperado.

desesperados de meiorar en su fazienda *Cron* 552a15
son ya desesperados de nunca te poder sanar *Cron* 577a17
eran desesperados de poder passar tienpo nin de atender al rey *Cron* 586a36

digno.

This is another excellent example of the *aspero* type.

A Barraban pidieron digno de iustiçiar *Duelo* 72
El confessor glorioso, digno de adorar *SDom* 253
Yo non seria digna de veer tan grant gloria *SOria* 35

du(e)cho.

duechas de comer los cuerpos muertos *Cron* 209b28
no eran duchos de obedecer a ningun sennor estranno *Cron* 210b48

dulçe (cf. *aspero* above).

Los fillos e las fillas dulçes son de veyer *Alix* 1616

duro (cf. *aspero* above).

duro de traer *Cron* 129b1

enoiado.

This participle of *enoiar* takes the *de*-infinitive of *cause* or *relation* in the three examples below.

enoiados eran de lo tomar *Cron* 727b17
enoiados eran de lo oyr et de loallo *Cron* 122b17
enoiados de uender catiuos *Cron* 136b2

feduzado.

de tornar meiorada feduzada bien era *SDom* 688

fermoso (cf. *aspero* above).

de paresçer fermosos *Alix* 847, 970
fermosa de catar *Cron* 146b38

feuzante.

fueron bien feuzantes de ganar el rregnado *Alix* 1143

fuerte (cf. *aspero* above. Although both noun and adjectives are used in this instance, the sense seems to permit construction of *seruir* with the adjectives).

semeiaua los esquiua et muy fuerte sennora de seruir *Cron* 260a33

graue [-v-] (cf. *aspero* above. *Graue* and *grieue* are among the few adjectives used frequently with *de*-infinitive).

graves de acordar *SMill* 475
tales que por a Orfeo de formar serien graves *Alix* 2117
graue de uencer *Cron* 161b21
graues de contar *Cron* 765b28

Also: *Cron* 192b48, 619b1.

grieue (All six examples of *grieue* with *de*-infinitive occur in the *Crónica*. *Graue* and *grieue* are in the category of *aspero* above).

serie muy grieue cosa de contar *Cron* 20a46
grieues son de fazer *Cron* 50a42
era grieue dacordar *Cron* 50a51
serien muy grieues de dezir *Cron* 272a20
serie . . . grieue de leuar *Cron* 506b23
eran . . . grieues de complir *Cron* 694b8

guisado (*Por-* and *pora*-infinitives are also found with *guisado: guisado pora recebir la su fe*, Cron 103a23).

guisados de lo fazer *Cron* 38a28
de ir somos guisados *Cid* 1060
De ir en romeria estaban mal guisados *Mil* 887
. . . guisado fuesse de uengar se dellos *Cron* 54a8

ligero (cf. *aspero* above).

fazese muy ligero de traer *Cron* 54b7
ligera de fazer *Cron* 420b11
ligero de tornarse dello *Cron* 451a4

The infinitive has subject and object: *non serie ligera de mantenerla et gouernarla un prinçep*, Cron 692a27

liuiano (used also with *pora*-infinitive).

liuiano de creer el mal *Cron* 451a3
de comer liuianos *Alix* 797

maestro.

fue de pintar muy maestro *Cron* 121b51

malo.

Like *bueno, malo* is in the *aspero* group of adjectives. It is not so frequently used with infinitive as might be expected from its sense, the *Alixandre* being the only text to specially favor it in this construction.

somos gentes ligeras, malas de conquerir *Alix* 1915
son . . . malos de rreferir *Alix* 2056
de garesçer muy mala *SDom* 410

Also: *Alix* 2347, 2191.

osado.

This is the most frequent adjective, participial or otherwise, taking the *de*-infinitive construction. The infinitive is even found without preposition, a use particularly rare with adjectives: *Nunqua mas fo osado al monge escarnir*, Mil 480; *Non seria osada la razon empezar*, Mil 780; *castigat uuestros fijos que non sean osados en sembradas agenas entrar con sus ganados*, SDom 469. There is the possibility of the omission of *de* for metrical reasons in the three instances above, as there was in the case of the preposition *a* discussed under *auer a*. It seems that neither of these very common prepositions was indispensable in a verse, if the locution employed was frequent enough to carry the sense with it. *Osado* was doubtless so familiar that whether *de* introduced the infinitive or not, the sense was quite clear.

de valerli osadas *Mil* 438
de fablar antel Rey, ¿ qui uos fizo osado ? *SDom* 142
de vestyrlo osado *Alix* 92
osado de paresçer *Alix* 475

. . . non era Sysongarabis osada
de demandar al rrey cosa tan señalada *Alix* 1569
de fincar en el plano non fueron mas osados *Alix* 1697
non seran sola mente de contrastar osadas *Alix* 1831

Also: *Alix* 1168, 2089, 2212; *SDom* 765.

pensado.

Two instances of this interesting variant of the *pensar* idea are noted in the *Signos*.

De catarlo nul omne sol non será pensado *Sig* 7
Mas de fablar ninguno solo non sera pensado *Sig* 17

pesado.

This participle of *pesar* is noted with *de*-infinitive in two instances of the *aspero* type.

Dizen una fazaña pesada de creyer *Alix* 741
un mal muesso pesado de tragar *Duelo* 35

poderoso.

The preposition *de* is omitted in this paraphrase of the *poder* idea: *non fue poderoso el dient enti poner*, SDom 769.

cuemo es poderoso de los dar, assi es poderoso de los toller *Cron* 91a52
poderoso de dar et de toller *Cron* 402b14

rreçelador.

muy rreçelador de en ninguna razon yr contra ella nin pasar contra los sus mandamientos *Cron* 771b30

sabidor (found also with *en*-infinitive).

muy sabidor de armas e de caualgar *Cron* 138a20

sabroso.

Both examples of *sabroso* have *oyr* as the infinitive, and are similar to *aspero* in use.

bel miraglo . . . sabroso de oyr *SDom* 335
. . . sabroso de oyr *SMill* 321

seguro (found also with *pora*-infinitive).

seguros de nunca aver mal *Sig* 58

tenudo.

This analogical participle of *tener* is current only in the *Crónica.*

por si sera tenudo de fazer iusticia *Cron* 142b33
tenudos somos de aguardarte et de te seruir *Cron* 447a29
tenudas egualmientre de uengar la sangre de sos maridos *Cron* 219a2
non fue tenudo de guardargela despues *Cron* 515a23
non era tenudo de guardar lo que pusiera con ellos *Cron* 587b30
fue tenudo del ayudar et guiar en todos sus fechos, et del adelantar et puiar en todas ondras *Cron* 771b41

trabaioso (cf. *aspero* above).

tierra . . . trabaiosa de conquerir *Cron* 69b49

vozero.

This is a good example of the *relative de*-infinitive with adjectives.

fue vozero de demandar los derechos *Cron* 157b39

THE INFINITIVE WITH A

The *a*-infinitive is less varied, and presents less subtlety of sense and function than the *de*-infinitive. While *de* in its *relative* sense lost much of its original force and was extended to numerous verbs not normally taking a *relative* connection with the dependent infinitive, *a* preserved and strengthened its original force. It extended its use to a much larger number of verbs than those taking it in the earliest period of Spanish, yet *a* kept its sense intact. As shown by Meyer-Lübke [1] *ad* in Latin expressed *proximity in space.* From this it came with verbs of motion to express *direction toward* an object. This concept in turn naturally broadened its usefulness to include the *goal* and even the *purpose* of an action. And here, indeed, are seen practically all the elements of the *a* with infinitive in

[1] *Gram.* III, § 390. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, pp. 292–297.

Old Spanish, all developing naturally and easily out of the original concept of proximity. With transitive verbs, this idea of proximity generally explains satisfactorily the use of *a* with verbs normally taking the object infinitive. The presence of *de* or *a* is not at all natural to the expression of the object relation between infinitive and finite verb, since in fact the preposition breaks any real objectivity and substitutes for it an essentially distinct relation. Thus *començar* with *de-* or *a*-infinitive evidences a different point of view from that to be felt in the same verb with its pure infinitive object: to begin *in regard to, in the matter of* . . ., or to begin *at* . . . instead of to begin *it*. The class of verbs taking the object infinitive and coming to employ *a* with it, is much smaller than the group taking *de*. With intransitive verbs of motion *a* had an unrivalled function in indicating the *goal* of the motion (*andar, yr, caualgar*, etc.). These verbs took the pure infinitive in the earliest period of the language, but it was not long before *a*, which was stronger and more explicit, surpassed the pure infinitive in most of this territory (*Issió a reçibirlas*, Mil 169; *mouieron a lidiar*, Alix 532; *Vayamos posar*, Cid 1531, etc.). With reflexive verbs, and transitives having an object present, *a* also had a normal field of development, so that these classes, as well as the intransitives, are strongly represented in our texts (e.g. *darse* and *tomarse, ayudar* and *poner, a* indicating *goal: dieron se a guarir*, Alix 734; *ayudol . . . a armar*, Cron 341a45). A group rich in examples and offering a number of interesting problems to be taken up later is that of *auer* and *ser* with the *a*-infinitive.

An important fact concerning the development of the *a*-infinitive is that it followed closely the treatment of the pure infinitive in several of its uses. Both took the object-infinitive (if this somewhat inaccurate term can be applied to the *a*-infinitive with verbs like *començar*), both expressed *goal* and *purpose* with intransitives and reflexives. Likewise both were used with *auer* and *ser*, though with *auer* the later limitation of the pure infinitive to expression of *futurity* and the *a*-infinitive

to that of *necessity*, make the similarity less apparent. Noting, however, these facts for the pure and *a*-infinitives, Lachmund divided his treatise on the *Infinitiv im Altfranzösischen* into two chapters only: *I. Reiner Infinitiv* (*und Infinitiv mit* **à**), and *II. Präpositionaler Infinitiv.* The pure and the *a*-infinitives are not the same, and cannot be adequately treated in the same section. Instead of being in harmony with each other in the early period of the language, they were rather inimical to each other. The *a*-infinitive was striving to win over the territory of its older and more primitive rival, and to a large extent succeeded in so doing, at least in those phases of the pure infinitive varying from *goal* to *purpose*. Hence the effort should be made to distinguish clearly between these two categories of infinitives rather than voluntarily to fuse them. And there were several real distinctions between them, of which the most important follow:

1. The infinitive as subject was quite frequent and varied when pure, while with *a* it was practically non-existent: *cuydar non es saber*, Alix 1728; *les conuinie a dexar de combater se*, Cron 71a23.

2. Most of the verbs taking the pure infinitive as object did not admit the *a*-infinitive, because the pure infinitive was felt to be the real object of the action with no admixture of other senses such as *goal* and *purpose* (cf. *querer*, *poder*, *mandar*, *fazer*, etc.): *fizolo quedar*, Alix 492; *Veol . . . morir*, Loor 78; *non lo osaua catar*, Alix 36.

3. With the intransitives of motion, the reflexives, etc., though the concept of *goal* was present in the pure infinitive, it was felt to be weak, while with the *a*-infinitive it was strong and merged more closely into that of *purpose: hir los hemos fferir*, Cid 1690; *vas a resçebir grant gloria*, Alix 2494; . . . *se ayuntassen adefender la fe*, Cron 449a46.

4. With the relative, interrogative, and comparative particles, the pure infinitive had a large field uninvaded by the *a*-construction: *non se sabien que fer*, Mil 396; *non sauemos do yr*, SDom 362.

5. The *temporal* use of *a*, coming from its earlier *place* significance, is unknown to the pure infinitive (see § 2, treating the infinitive as substantive): *al tirar de la lança*, Cid 3686; *Al salir de la missa*, Cid 2070.

The A-Infinitive as Subject

40. Meyer-Lübke[1] lists *conuenir* as the only verb in Spanish taking the *a*-infinitive as subject. From the evidence this seems to be true, inasmuch as with *conuenir* the real subject of the action is made an indirect object in the same manner as with the impersonals discussed under the pure and the *de*-infinitives (see § 9 and § 28), while the other verbs take the usual personal subject. It is evident that the preposition *a* was not so well suited to introducing the subject-infinitive as was *de*, since it could not weaken its sense sufficiently; i.e. it could always be felt as an integral part of the sentence, thus somewhat detracting from the prominence desired for the infinitive. Examples of *conuenir* with *a*-infinitive are not rare in the *Crónica*, but are not noted in any other of these texts.

. . . quel conuenie a auer priuança *Cron* 427b18
esto conuino a sser por la muerte de don Aluar Perez *Cron* 740a7
por fuerça les conuenie a recibir y danno *Cron* 762b25
uos conuiene desta guisa a uenir con armas *Cron* 67b6
les conuinie a dexar de combater se *Cron* 71a23
uos conuiene a fazer uuestra uida *Cron* 77a11
conuiene a saber *Cron* 482a27, 704a7, 716b4, 665a10

The A-Infinitive as Object

41. The group of *a*-infinitives as object of the action includes about fifteen verbs, thus constituting a very much smaller group than the corresponding construction under *de*. The apparent reason for this is, as suggested above, that the force of *a* is persistent, while that of *de* is evanescent in such locutions. Thus, in the object group, with *començar*, *conpeçar*,

[1] *Gram.* III, § 340.

empeçar and *dexar* the locative sense of *a* is predominant (*place where*), while with *alcançar*, *cobdiçiar*, *cometer*, *derrancar* and *esforçar* there is implied or expressed *motion toward* something (for examples, see individual verbs below).

Some verbs were strongly influenced to take the *a*-infinitive by the subtle, and usually indefinable, forces of analogy with other verbs to which the *a*-sense was entirely congruous. For instance, *deuer* is found with the *a*-infinitive, yet it would seem that this verb was so prevailingly pure in its infinitive relations, that even the occasional use of the *a*-infinitive would have been thought undesirable. The sense and frequency of the verb itself would appear to exact an infinitive-object with no limitations rather than the same object limited by a preposition expressing *direction*, *goal*, or *place where*. It is of interest, however, to note these prepositional influences working one against the other for supremacy within a given field of expression, and the gradual success of one or another of them to the partial or complete suppression of the rest. Outside the object group with *a*, it will be seen that, along with a certain tendency to develop the *goal* element of *a* into that *purpose*, there is almost perfect harmony between verb and preposition (in the groups of intransitive verbs of motion, transitives, reflexives, *auer* and the like): *anda a furtar*, Alix 766; *se ayuntaron . . . a fazerle grandes cortes*, Cron 644a7; *esforçosse a fazelles quanto mal pudo*, Cron 30a37; *. . . quel ayudarie a auer Denia*, Cron 548a24; *ouola a sacar*, SDom 416.

alcançar.

alcanço ella muy bien a atargelo *Cron* 114a32

aprender.

This verb is also noted with *de*-infinitive.

seyendo grant aprisiera a leer cartas *Cron* 199a44

cobdiçiar.

The pure, *a*-, *de*- and *por*-infinitives are found with *cobdiçiar*.

cobdiçiaua mucho a ueer la su muerte *Cron* 429a2

començar.

The pure and *de*-infinitives were also used with *començar*. In the period of our texts the struggle between *de* and *a* for use in this locution was at its height. In the *Cid* there is no evidence of *de* with the infinitive depending on *començar*, but in the *Santo Domingo* and the *Alixandre*, *de* does appear not infrequently. In the *Crónica*, *de* is common, though it never occurs as often as *a*. In fact, in the same sentences the two appear side by side in the *Crónica* (see § 32, *començar*). This indicates that it was not a matter of very great moment to the writer whether *de* or *a* was used with *començar*, and that to him there was nothing incongruous even in using both of them together. Probably the ever-increasing popularity of the *de*-infinitive in its many uses accounts in part for its sharing in the *començar* construction with *a*. It will be remembered that the same rivalry existed between *de* and *à* with *comencier* in the Old French of the period:

> començo alabrar por dexar el pedir *SDom* 107
> començo arogar *SDom* 192
> començo arogar lo avna grant dulçor *SDom* 391
> començo allorar tan aturada mente *SDom* 392
> Començo li vn monge . . . los sanctos exorzismos . . . aleer *SDom* 691
> queria començar a reuerter su saña *Alix* 197
> començo el buen omne en su cuer a tornar *Alix* 284
> començo de alli las tierras todas a mesurar *Alix* 286
> començo a feryr . . ., derrocar . . . *Alix* 561
> Començaron . . . a luchar *Alix* 573
> El arbol que tenprano comiença a floreçer *Alix* 764
> començol vn dicho malo a retraher *Alix* 1044
> començos a desfer *Alix* 1139

Also: *Alix* 174, 561, 573, 1180; *Cron* 4b40, 5a20, 6a50, etc.

cometer.

The *de*-infinitive is also used with *cometer*.

> muy grand miedo deuie auer de cometer a passar la *Cron* 72a2

conpeçar.

Three out of the four cases of *conpeçar* with *a*-infinitive come from the *Cid*. This verb is a compound of the two other verbs meaning *to begin*, *començar* and *enpeçar*, as discussed by Menéndez Pidal.[1] The preposition *de* is also noted with *conpeçar*, occurring eight times as compared with the four of *a*. This is contrary to the habits of other verbs of *beginning*, which affect the *locative a* more often than the *relative de*.

conpeço a dezir mucho villano prouerbio *Alix* 1347
conpeçó mio Çid a dar a quien quiere prender so don *Cid* 2115
conpieçan a reçebir lo que el Çid mandó *Cid* 2585
Essora les conpieçan a dar ifantes de Carrión *Cid* 2735

deuer.

The pure infinitive is exceptionally regular with *deuer* in these texts. It was remarked as a conspicuous fact under *deuer* with pure infinitive (see § 14), that *deuer* with *de*-infinitive does not occur in the *Cid*, Berceo's poems, or in the *Crónica*. The *a*-infinitive, however, is found with *deuer* in three instances from the *Crónica* (twice having *saber* as the dependent infinitive).

deuedes a saber que . . . *Cron* 453b17
Et uos deuedes a saber que . . . *Cron* 733a25
non es cosa que deua omne a creer *Cron* 739a27

dexar.

This verb occurs most often in Old Spanish with pure infinitive in the factitive sense already described in the *fazer* group (*to leave, to let*). With the prepositions *a*, *de* and *por*, quite a variation in sense is found in *dexar* and infinitive (*to cease, to leave off*). It was probably not the *de* of *separation* that was associated with *dexar*, but rather that same dim *relative de* so easy to utilize in numerous ways (*to leave off in regard to . . .*), since it was the *relative de* that permitted *a* frequently to be used in its place, while the *de* of *separation* or the *de* of *means* and *cause* stood for senses that *a* could not participate in.

[1] *Cid* I, § 161, [3.

Thus *a* is found with *dexar* and infinitive in six instances from the *Crónica*, the combination having the same sense as the *de*-locution. The *a* had apparently a *place where* relation at first, as it did with *començar*, etc. In one instance the pure infinitive is equivalent to the prepositional use: *por que veyen los vnos a los otros caher por eso non dexauan su camino tener*, Alix 1091.

agora dexa la estoria a fablar del Çid . . . et torna a contar del rey *Cron* 643b5
agora dexamos a fablar desto . . . et diremos como al infante . . . acaescio *Cron* 725a18
dexa aqui la estoria a contar del infante . . . et torna a dezir del rey *Cron* 725b14
otros logares menores, cuyos nonbres dexamos a contar aqui *Cron* 736a40
dexemos . . . a fablar destos . . . et digamos de lo que los moros fizieron *Cron* 754a10
de los que dexamos a contar *Cron* 242b14

enpeçar (em-).

The pure and *de*-infinitives also occur with *enpeçar*, though the construction with *a* is by far the most frequent. No instance of *enpeçar* with infinitive is noted in the *Cid*, but other texts offer it regularly. In the *Cid*, *conpeçar* and *començar* are used in its stead.

enpeço a mostrar que serie de grant prez *Alix* 7
enpeço a guerrear *Alix* 145
enpeçolos . . . a desordyr *Alix* 165
enpeçola . . . a lidiar *Alix* 202
enpeço a mandarse Greçia por vn señor *Alix* 229
est capitulo enpieçan arezar *Sac* 114
Empezaron . . . a sobir *SOria* 41
Empezolas . . . a seguir *SOria* 41
empezós a desprunar *SMill* 14
empieçe a contar *Mil* 47
Ante que empezasse a sobir ennas gradas *Mil* 470
empezó a deçir *Mil* 476
Empezoli a dar de grandes palancadas *Mil* 478

Also: *Alix* 758, 943, 946, 963, 1478, 1556, 1896, 1962, 1978 (*ad*), 2278, 2552; *SMill* 76, 196, 290, 295; *Mil* 380, 480, 548, 607.

ensennar.

ensennauan las a usar de las armas *Cron* 219b48
ensenno los a seer mansos *Cron* 222a23
. . . quel ensennara a creer en la fe de Nostro Sennor Dios *Cron* 263b31
. . . agradesçer que me enseñeste las artes todas a entender *Alix* 38

entender.

En-infinitive also occurs with *entender*.

entendien ya a fazer tuertos *Cron* 705a16

esforçar.

This verb, more often used as a reflexive, takes *de*, *a* and *pora* with the infinitive.

. . . rentas ningunas pora esforçar a defenderse *Cron* 560b31

merescer.

The constructions with *a* and *de* are rare, *merescer* normally taking the pure infinitive.

merescio a auer sennorio *Cron* 467b53
tales que merescan a ser pareios de condes *Cron* 622a35

penssar.

See Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* I, § 161, [3. There is only one example of the *a*-infinitive with *penssar*. The regular construction has *de*, with an occasional instance of the pure infinitive.

pienssan a deprunar *Cid* 1493

usar.

The pure and *de*-infinitives are found with *usar*.

usaran los clerigos a ueuir en aquella guisa *Cron* 338a1
comenzaron a vsar a fazer grandes mortandades *Cron* 667a50
usaron lo a beuer algunos dias *Cron* 30a52

The a-Infinitive Indicates Goal with Intransitive Verbs of Motion

42. No violence is done to the natural function of the preposition with these verbs (*place where, to which*, etc.), nor is it necessary to read below the surface to understand its sense. That the *a*-construction ran parallel with the pure infinitive in this particular group, and that it gradually superseded the latter, except with a small number of verbs that still maintained the older custom of taking the infinitive pure, has already been shown in § 21. The preposition is, however, much more flexible than might be supposed, since there are perceptible several different degrees of the concept called *goal* by the grammarians merging from time to time into that of *purpose*. It is weaker than the *purpose* expressed by *por*, *pora*, and *para*, yet it is undoubtedly a real and natural outgrowth of the original *goal* sense of *a*. There was sufficient virility in *a* to enable it on occasion to govern its infinitive with little or no dependence on an individual verb (i.e. in clausal dependence): *iban a la iglesia a la missa oir*, Sac 285; *Fue a Sancto Domjngo amerced li clamar*, SDom 607; *passo allent la sierra a agosto coger*, SDom 421; for instances pure, with *por*, *pora* and *para*, see pp. 75, 209, 233, 235. For such cases it was customary to allow *por*, *pora* or *para* to take the infinitive because these at all times expressed *purpose*, whether depending on a single verb or a clause. This delicate fusion of *goal* and *purpose* in the *a*-infinitive with the verbs of motion listed below is to be felt rather than proved for individual instances.

As in other constructions where the pure and *a*-infinitives ran more or less parallel, the *a* appears in a proportionately greater number of cases with verbs of motion in the *Crónica* than in the poetry of the period, both because of the tendency of poetry to cling to traditional constructions and because of the lateness of the *Crónica* in the period concerned. For further discussion of the *a*-infinitive, see *yr* below.

adelinar.

adelinan a posar *Cid* 2857

andar.

In Old Spanish *andar* was very rare with infinitive, with or without preposition. The function of *yr* was very close to that of *andar*, and *yr* was the most frequent of all the verbs of motion. Later, the less general *andar* came more and more into popular favor. It is notable that the two cases cited below have *furtar* as the infinitive, thus indicating not a general application of *andar*, but a specific locution. *Por* and *en* are also found with the infinitive in *andar* locutions.

anda a furtar *Alix* 766
anda a furtar *Cron* 401a38

auenir.

No other infinitive construction is noted with *auenir*. The simple verbs *venir*, *llegar*, etc. served ordinarily for such cases as this, but with reflexive form *pora*-infinitive is found.

eran auenidas las yentes a mandarse por ellos muy bien *Cron* 70a17

caualgar.

The citation below shows *purpose* to predominate. *Pora*-infinitive occurs with *caualgar* similarly.

el rey caualgo con el a escorrirle fuera de la villa *Cron* 624a24

derranchar (-car).

derranchaua a cometer et a fazer mas que non solie *Cron* 743a6
Fellon fue Nicolao, derranco a dezir . . . *Alix* 133

descender.

The pure and *a*-infinitives were used with *descender*. *Purpose* is strongly felt in the citation below, though the dependence of the infinitive on *descender* is normal.

descendieron a poblar en los llanos *Cron* 493a22

entrar.

The pure and *a*-infinitives are noted with *entrar*. *Purpose* is to be felt in several of the passages cited herewith.

entraron a posar *Cid* 1877
antes que entrassen a yantar *Cid* 2250
entrol a demandar el rrey de su fazienda *Alix* 1860
Entro enna mañana ala mjssa dezir *SDom* 346
entrosse a echar *Cron* 202a25
auie el a entrar a ueer al rey *Cron* 444a13
entra agora la estoria a contar . . . *Cron* 713b12

yr.

This is the most generally utilized verb of motion in Old Spanish. Meyer-Lübke [1] tells us that with *venir* and *ir* started the general use of the pure infinitive with verbs of motion. Such a construction of the infinitive existed in Latin with *ire* and *venire*, and gradually supplanted the supine so used (e.g. *ad Caesarem gratulatum convenerunt*). The appearance of the preposition is of course considerably later than the pure infinitive, but having once started, it was not slow to usurp a major portion of the field with this class of verbs. At the period of the texts studied here, the territory was by no means largely occupied by either construction, but both were employed commonly, the pure infinitive losing, and the *a*-infinitive gaining, but both strong. Eleven intransitive verbs of motion appear with pure infinitive, eighteen with *a*-infinitive, and in general those taking the pure construction likewise take the *a*-form. So it is not hard to see the comparative favor in which the two constructions were held. It was inevitable that the *a*-infinitive should gain in ordinary use with verbs of motion, since motion was so intrinsic a part of the *a* function. No verb taking the infinitive illustrates so well as *yr* the various shades of *goal* and *purpose* that may be merged in the infinitive relation to the finite verb, as *yr* was used currently with the pure infinitive and with all the prepositions expressing *purpose* (*a*, *por*, *pora*, *para*): *la manol ban besar*, Cid 298; *donde iria a posar*, SOria 40; *Iuan los mandaderos por la paz asentar*, Alix 1079; *yuan ellos pora fablar con ell*, Cron 463a38; *el fuese . . . para meter rrecua a la frontera*, Cron 737b43.

[1] *Gram.* III, § 503.

iranse a perder *Sig* 10
non iria afurtar *SDom* 427
e nos yr a lidiar *Alix* 454
e yr los a feryr *Alix* 585
de yr a cometer los *Alix* 898
por nada tu non vayas con ellos a albergar *Alix* 1670
van a cojer . . . las flores *Alix* 1932
vas a resçebir grant gloria *Alix* 2494
era ydo a casar a tierra de Bardulia *Cron* 359a10

A very interesting group of forms are those coming from the verb *ser*, found in Old Spanish in place of the etymologically correct forms from the perfect and allied tenses of *ire*. The same interchange of verbs meaning *to be* and *to go* is found in other languages, especially in the more popular strata of language (cf. the English vulgarism *I was to New York last week*). Unlike English, Spanish had the preposition *a* to express either *place where* or *to which* (English *at* and *to*), thus facilitating the confusion of the two constructions. The etymological forms from *ire*, especially in the singular, were phonologically weaker than those of *ser*, and this hastened the adoption of the *ser* forms. The intransitive sense of *yr* is maintained even when a reflexive pronoun is used to mark the spontaneity of an action:[1] *fuesse . . . a acorrerlos*, Cron 341b1.

fue a lidiar con el *Alix* 157, 2198
alli se fue a coronar *Alix* 182
fuelo a prender *Alix* 524
fuel ya a dar pas *Alix* 556
Fue a prender el canto Etor *Alix* 571
fuelo a colpar *Alix* 624
fuelo a feryr *Alix* 626
fuelo a conjurar *Alix* 1036
fuela a lidiar *Alix* 1073
fue los a conbater *Alix* 1102
fuelos a vesitar *Alix* 1329
fuelo a ferir *Alix* 2179
fuese a las espaldas del ad acostar *Alix* 2210

[1] Menéndez Pidal: *Cid*, p. 341.

fuese . . . a folgar *SOria* 163
fueron se a esconder *Alix* 603
. . . que fuesen a almorçar *Alix* 1308
fueron se a colpar *Alix* 1372
fueronse a esconder *Alix* 2148
fuera a oyr missa *Cron* 349b13

Further examples of *yr* with *a*-infinitive are found in: *SDom* 359, 641; *Cron* 371b42, 414b4, 433a22, 439b25, 503b49, 504b43, 516b32, 518a32, 518b36, 521a50, 524b13, 580a47, 580b7.9, 583b29.

issir.

This compound of *yr* somewhat more frequently takes the pure infinitive than that with *a*. The construction with *por* is also found.

Issió a reçibirlas *Mil* 169

llegar.

Only the *Crónica* offers examples of *llegar* with *a*-infinitive. A figurative sense such as is found in the French *arriver à* with infinitive is noted in the passages below. Other infinitive constructions of *llegar* have *por*, *pora* or no preposition, with or without clausal dependence.

llego la caualleria de Castiella a seer de quinientos fasta seyçientos caualleros fijosdalgo *Cron* 429a31
llegaron . . . a auer treynta annos *Cron* 113b5
llego a seer emperador *Cron* 157b43
. . . por llegar a contar *Cron* 681b32

mouer.

The intransitive use of *mouer* with *a*-infinitive is limited to one passage. The transitive and reflexive forms also take *a*. Infinitives pure and with *pora* are likewise noted with *mouer*.

de nuevo mouieron a lidiar *Alix* 532

pas(s)ar.

The pure and *pora*-infinitives are also noted with *passar*.

quisieron passar a uengarle *Cron* 16b38
passaran a conquerir a Francia *Cron* 64a25
passa a contar de la reyna *Cron* 715a28
pasa agora a contar de commo priso a Cordoua *Cron* 729a51

puiar.

The normal construction is with *a*-infinitive. *Por* also occurs.

puio este Sertorio a auer muchas yentes *Cron* 55b20
puio a seer omne de grand guisa *Cron* 82a45

salir.

This is one of the more current verbs of motion, taking the pure infinitive as well as that with *a*, *por* and *para*. It occurs most commonly in the locution *salir a reçebir*, of which about thirty cases are found in these few texts. Without *reçebir*, *salir* is also noted not infrequently, but unquestionably this is its most favored locution. It may or may not take the preposition *a* with *reçebir*. The majority of the instances with *a* come from the *Crónica*.

Without *reçebir:*

Salleron a consellarse *Alix* 1592
. . . que saliessen ellos otrossi a andar a cada parte *Cron* 438a35
salgamos a lidiar con ellos *Cron* 500a16
. . . que saliessen todos a aguardar su senna *Cron* 506a15
querien salir a lidiar *Cron* 527b24

Also: *Cron* 25a1, 30a11, 32b2, 63b40, 317b37, 529b37, 530b8, 558b22; *Alix* 1591, 1622.

With *reçebir:*

a reçebirlos salió *Cid* 1917
saliólos a reçebir *Cid* 2882
a reçebirlos sale *Cid* 2886
sallola a rreçebir *Alix* 1859
saliolo a recebir *Cron* 141b27
salieron lo a recebir muy onradamientre *Cron* 170b27
saliol a recebir *Cron* 318a40
saliolos a recebir *Cron* 342b47

Also: *Cron* 359b24, 368b28, 375a36.38, 409b40, 418b7, 419b44, 437a34, 470b4, 522a1, 532a22, 535b45, 536b37, 541b14, 560a34, 580b25.35, 594b10, 595b23.37, 549b8.15.

subir.

The dependence of the infinitive on *subir* tends to be weak.

> el primero que . . . subiesse a pesar del senado et de los otros . . . a seer emperador *Cron* 162b38
> subien a cometer los moros *Cron* 701b5

tornar.

This verb offers as great a variety of infinitive construction as any other verb of motion, being employed with *a*, *de*, *en*, *por*, *para*, *pora*, and without preposition. Menéndez Pidal states [1] that *tornar* in the *Cid* does not have the *iterative* sense which is frequent in the derivatives of *volvere* and *tornare* as cited by Diez.[2] Menéndez Pidal further considers that *tornar* might almost as well be omitted in so far as it affects the meaning of the verb used with it as infinitive. This would seem to me too hazardous a statement to make so definitely. That *tornar a* with infinitive departed from its strictly literal meaning, and that it became more or less of a formula with the author of the *Cid* cannot be denied. That it does not in the *Cid* have the *iterative* sense found in the same construction in various other authors need not be questioned either. But this hardly proves that nothing is added to the sense of the infinitive. It may well have been felt to intensify the sense of the infinitive and give a force to its action that could not have been gained by merely using the infinitive in a finite form. For instance, in the *Cid* 298, there seems to be present an *inceptive* force unobtainable by the substitution of *se sonrió* for *tornós a sonrisar*. However it may be in the *Cid*, where there is evident a greater weakening of sense than in the same locution used in other texts, in the *Crónica* and elsewhere can be noted two distinct senses, both to be expected from the original

[1] *Cid*, § 161, [2.

[2] *Gram.* III, p. 219, 6.

meaning of the verb *tornar: to turn to the doing*, and *to do again* (i.e. *to return to the doing*). It is the first of these two senses that allows itself to become weakened until Menéndez Pidal doubts its very existence. In the *Crónica* are found several clear cases of the *iterative* sense of *tornar a* with infinitive:

> torno el pueblo a yudgarse por consules assi cuemo de primero *Cron* 7a41

Here the deciding phrase is *assi cuemo de primero*, indicating a return to a former condition. Other citations of the same nature are:

> tornaremos a fablar de Hercules *Cron* 7a13 (Hercules has been mentioned a few lines before)
> ouo quatrozientos e quaraenta e tres annos, fasta que torno a auer emperadores en Roma *Cron* 7a44
> mas agora tornamos a fablar de Hercules *Cron* 9a53
> començaron a dubdar . . . si ficarien et tornarien a lidiar *Cron* 72a22
> mas acorrieronle luego sus uassallos, et dieronle un cauallo, et tornaron luego a ferrir muy de recio en los moros *Cron* 403a12
> conseiol . . . que tornasse a penssar en fecho de los caualleros *Cron* 550b42
> torno commo de cabo a conbater el arraual del Alcudia *Cron* 571a15
> guarescio daquella gordura, et torno a ser delgado como otro omne *Cron* 408b50

One interesting case of *tornar a* occurs in the *Crónica* 578b28, where *a* seems to express a *purpose* element closely bordering on the *iterative* sense illustrated above, yet being subtly distinct (*to return to take it*): *Capitulo de como los moros de Valencia se arrepintieron porque dexaran a Abenjaf su cabdiello, yl querien tornar a tomar.* There is clear *purpose* in *Cron* 342a39, due to dependence of the infinitive on the clause instead of on *tornar* itself: *se querie tornar pora su tierra a recebir el regno.*

In the citations following, there is no apparent *iteration* of sense. The *tornar a* has its primitive concept of *to turn to the doing:*

agora dexa ell estoria de fablar desto, e torna a contar de cuemo el poder de los Romanos entro en Espanna. This is followed by the chapter heading: *Aqui se comiença la estoria del sennorio que los Romanos ouieron en Espanna,* Cron 18b1, where the important word is *comiença,* indicating the broaching of a new subject. The same condition is found in *Cron* 20a35, where the actual description of the event follows the announcement of the subject: *torno a contar de cuemo los romanos enuiaron a Cipion el mancebo a Espanna; Cron* 665b46 is another good illustration of this principle: *ell rey don Sancho torno a preguntar al rey don Fernando . . . la razon de su uenida et a affincarle por cuio consseio uiniera assi.* See also *Cron* 179a47, 180a50.

In the *Cid, tornar* occurs with *a*-infinitive as follows:

tornós a sonrisar *Cid* 298
él a las niñas tornólas a catar *Cid* 371
mio Çid con los sos tornós a acordar *Cid* 666
tornáronse a armar *Cid* 695
açerca de Murviedro tornan tiendas a fincar *Cid* 1101
alégrasle el coraçón e tornós a sonrrisar *Cid* 1266
tornós a alegrar *Cid* 1455

(h)uuiar.

The more frequent construction has the pure infinitive with *(h)uuiar* (see § 21).

antes que a la flota se uuiassen a coier *Cron* 21b5
nos uuiaran a guisar de caualleros *Cron* 29b5
ante que se huuiasen a coier *Cron* 753b27

venir (u-).

Next to *yr, venir* was the most influential verb of motion in early Romance.[1] What applies to the syntax of *yr* in general applies to that of *venir,* since they were of the same historical dignity, and represented converse views of the same action. Of the two *yr* was the more frequently used, and was found available for a variety of locutions that could not utilize *venir.*

[1] Meyer-Lübke: *Gram.* III, § 503.

Yet *venir* itself is currently met in all the texts of early Spanish, both with pure infinitive and with the various prepositions that regularly went with verbs of motion: *a*, *de*, *por* and *pora*. It is normal in its function of *goal* with the preposition *a*, though here, as in the case of *yr*, there is often some intermixture of the element of *purpose*. Most of the citations with *a* below are taken from the *Crónica*, but nearly all texts except the *Cid* are represented. This text by preference employs the pure infinitive. In the *Crónica* the locution most affected is *venir a acorrer* as in *el rey vernie a acorrerle*, Cron 584a22 (other examples in Cron 383b22, 400a36, 439b22, 472a22, 500a1).

viniemos a perdernos *Alix* 872
lo vino a veer *Duelo* 69
a rogarvos venia *Mil* 170
Vinienlo a veer *Mil* 215
Vino el pueblo todo a la missa oir,
Prender pan beneito, el agua reçebir *Mil* 832
vinjeron a furtarlos *SDom* 377
ouieron a uenir a guerrear unos con otros *Cron* 31b20

Also: *Sig* 61; *Mil* 909; *Loor* 31, 44; *SDom* 331, 346; *Cron* 371b37, 434b21, 440a1, 450a38, 463a25, 467b19, 472a22, 493a7, 525b39, 537b22, 551a31, 581a12, 584b24.

The a-Infinitive Indicates Goal with Reflexive Verbs

43. The class of reflexives taking the *a*-infinitive is even larger than the last class discussed, that of the intransitive verbs. That this is true does not cause surprise when it is remembered that the group is composed of members of other groups not fundamentally reflexives, such as the transitive and intransitive verbs used for convenience with the reflexive pronouns (*acordarse*, *tornarse*, *mouerse*, etc.). This is particularly true of the transitives, since any transitive can take a reflexive pronoun, subject only to the limitations of its sense.

Notable among transitive verbs that have a well recognized standing as reflexives are *dar, echar, meter, tomar,* etc. A verb may appear in all three classes with the preposition *a* (e.g. *mouer* and *tornar*), viz., as a transitive, intransitive, and reflexive.

The normal function of *a* is evidently to indicate the *goal* of the action: *acogense a andar,* Cid 2690; *dar se ya a morir,* Cron 91b34; *echos a dormir,* Cron 38b11; *Mouieronse a andar,* Alix 1712. Yet the connection between the verb and the preposition may be less close than in the above cases and may indicate a considerable degree of *purpose,* as was pointed out for several verbs of the last group (*a penas se pudieron leuantar a reçibirle,* Cron 665b24). In others, the relation approaches that of verb object (*non se atreuie a yr,* Cron 20b43; *se acordarian a darle la uilla,* Cron 749a18).

The verbs most typical of this group (i.e. those not taking any other than this *a*-infinitive of *goal*) are: *acogerse, apresurarse, cogerse, darse, echarse, meterse* (for examples see the individual verbs below).

acojerse.

acójense a andar *Cid* 2690

acordarse.

The infinitive also has *de, por* and *en* with *acordarse.*

se acordarian a darle la uilla *Cron* 749a18

apartarse.

Para-infinitive is likewise noted with *apartarse.*

se aparto yent a llamar un Dios et a circumcidar se *Cron* 109a22

yo non me aparto con mugeres nin a cantar nin a beuer *Cron* 589a22

apresurarse.

. . . que se apresurasse a uenir *Cron* 566a7

apresurosse a uenir *Cron* 566a11

assentarse.

Yantar may have substantival force in the examples below (cf. English *sit down to dinner* and *sit down to dine, yantar* representing both *dinner* and *dine; a* indicates *goal* most clearly with the substantival *yantar*).

assentando se los omnes a yantar *Cron* 55a15
el rey se assento a yantar *Cron* 349b20
desque se assento a yantar *Cron* 694a31

atreuerse.

The preposition *a* here introduces practically a verb object. The infinitive may also be used with *de* and *en*, or remain pure. Of these constructions, the prepositional types are most frequent. Again all instances come from the *Crónica*.

nos atrouieron a poblar *Cron* 14a37
. . . ques atrouieron a lidiar *Cron* 19a24
non se atreuie a uenir *Cron* 20b40
non se atreuie a yr *Cron* 20b43
non se atreuieron a dezir que . . . *Cron* 233b20
non auie y omne que se atrouiesse a amparar et defender *Cron* 315a6
se atrouieran a uenirla guerrear *Cron* 363a2
non me atreuo a lidiar nin a defenderme *Cron* 411a3
non nos atreuemos a fazer ninguna cosa sin el *Cron* 414b46

Also: *Cron* 292b20, 541b25, 652a48, 666b51, 674b36, 732a38, 750a3, 755a35, 765a28.

ayuntarse.

The *a*-infinitive here rather expresses the *purpose* than the *goal* of the action. This verb appeared currently as a transitive, and took the infinitive with *por* and *pora* as well as *a*.

. . . que se ayuntassen a defender la fe *Cron* 449a46

cogerse.

As with *tomarse* and *acojerse, a* clearly indicates the *goal* of the action.

cogios a uenir *Cron* 83b14
cogiosse a foyr *Cron* 702a44

cuytarse.

se cuytaran a salir *Cron* 758b30

darse.

The only infinitive construction of *darse* has *a*. This is quite natural in view of the fact that *dar* as a transitive verb might normally take an indirect object, and that *a* was used to indicate this object (cf. *se dio alli a malas costumbres, et a yr por su talante,* Cron 169a41). *Dar* likewise implies motion, so that *a* would be normal with dependent infinitive. The locution *darse a guarir* is noteworthy, with *guarir* sometimes marked as a substantive: *dieron se a guarir,* Alix 734 and 1057; *dieronse al guarir,* Alix 1719, and *Date al guarir luego,* Sac 724. The majority of the instances of *darse* with dependent infinitive are found in the *Crónica.*

dieron se a correr *Alix* 1728
dar se ya a morir *Cron* 91b34
se daua a entender *Cron* 236b23
dieronse a folgar *Cron* 256a13
dieron se ellos a foyr *Cron* 310a16

Also: Cron 324a36, 342a4, 404a37, 421a37, 670a29.

echarse.

This verb shows marked similarity to *darse,* etc. The preposition *a* regularly indicates the *goal* of the action. Three instances appear in the *Alixandre,* the rest in the *Crónica.* The only current locution is *echarse a dormir,* found rather often. As with *darse,* no other infinitive construction is noted with *echarse.*

El pecado que nunca se echo a dormir *Alix* 1879
echos a dormir *Cron* 38b11

Also: *Cron* 127b51, 128a44, 184a48.

echosse a obrar *Cron* 658b32

In two passages the infinitive has the same relation to the verb as the substantives used under the same circumstances and at the same time (see discussion under *darse* above):

se echauan a nobleza et a mas ualer *Cron* 156b40
echo se a vicio et a folgar et a usar de todas malas costumbres *Cron* 168a12

esforçarse.

De- and *pora*-infinitives are also noted with *esforçarse.*

esforçosse a fazelles quanto mal pudo *Cron* 30a37

leuantarse.

The *a*-infinitive indicates both *goal* and *purpose* in the instances below. *De*, *por* and *pora* with the infinitive, as well as the pure construction, are also found with *leuantarse.*

se començaua a leuantar a seer por si ell regno de Portogal *Cron* 650a34
a penas se pudieron leuantar a reçibirle *Cron* 665b24

meterse.

The similarity in sense and syntax of *meterse* and *tomarse* is to be noted. Menéndez Pidal gives the modern equivalent as *ponerse*, also with *a*-infinitive.[1] Only two instances of *meterse* with *a*-infinitive appear in the poetry, all the rest in the *Crónica.*

métense a andar *Cid* 2878
al ferir se metieron *SMill* 442 (with substantive-infinitive)
se metie . . . a amparar el so fecho *Cron* 20b19
metios . . . a entrar por medio dell agua *Cron* 71b54
metieron se a andar *Cron* 72b11
metieron se a destroyr toda tierra de Ytalia *Cron* 168a21
se metieron a robar *Cron* 290a39
metiose el rey . . . a fazer obras de misericordia *Cron* 406a41

Also: *Cron* 451a19, 475b15, 522a13, 673b1.

mouerse.

The transitive and intransitive, as well as reflexive, forms of *mouer* are used. *Pora*-infinitive is also found with the reflexive; the other constructions with *a*, *pora* and pure.

Mouieronse a andar *Alix* 1712
adubdar non te mueuas *SDom* 713
non se mouer a ferir *Cron* 75b9

[1] *Cid*, § 161, [3.

pararse.

Pora-infinitive also occurs with *pararse.*

parosse a almorzar *Cron* 115b6

tomarse.

The *Cid* and the *Crónica* share equally the examples of *tomarse.* Menéndez Pidal[1] gives the locution an *inceptive* sense along with *pensar de, conpeçar de,* etc. He observes that the *romances* usually prefer the synonym of *tomarse,* i.e. *prenderse,* unknown in the *Cid.* In one instance he finds no inceptive sense, *Cid* 1102: *tomós a maravillar.* However, in the vast majority of passages this inceptive sense is clearly felt. No other infinitive construction is available with *tomarse.*

moros e moras tomáronse a quexar *Cid* 852
Viólo mio Çid, tomós a maravillar *Cid* 1102
tómanse a deportar *Cid* 1514
tómanse a preguntar *Cid* 1825
tomaron se a reir del *Cron* 32b15
tomaron se a robar et a despechar los cibdadanos *Cron* 284b17
tomose entonces a sonrrisar *Cron* 374b7
tomaronse a riir *Cron* 432a5

tornarse.

For discussion of the intransitive construction of *tornar* with infinitive, see § 42. Examples of the reflexive construction illustrate both senses of *tornar* (*to turn, to return, to doing something*). The *iterative* sense of *tornar* is evidenced in the following instances: *tornosse a fazer cuemo primero todo lo peor,* Cron 124b16; . . . *se tornasse a uiuir uida de omne simple,* Cron 183b16; *tornaron se de cabo a auer sos consules cuemo los ouieran antes,* Cron 86b29. Elsewhere the normal sense of *to turn, to set oneself, to doing* makes the locution resemble *tomarse, meterse,* etc. above. The *de-, para-* and *pora*-infinitives are also used with *tornarse,* and, with the intransitive *tornar, de, en, pora,* as well as the construction without preposition.

[1] *Cid,* § 161, [3.

tornós a sonrisar *Cid* 298, 1266
torno se . . . a correr las prouincias *Cron* 167b47
tornauanse a comer las yeruas *Cron* 583b36
tornosse a guerrear *Cron* 581a38; also *Alix* 2361

treuerse.

Like *atreuerse* above, *treuerse* takes *a* to introduce practically an infinitive object. The pure infinitive is regular with *treuerse.*

non me trevria en ello a venir *Mil* 45
non se treue a firmar lo que . . . *Cron* 491b25

vezarse.

The pure infinitive is also used with *vezarse.*

Los omnes que se vezan tal vida a mantener *Alix* 2361

The A-Infinitive with Transitive Verbs

44. The group of transitive verbs taking *a* with the infinitive is smaller and, on the whole, less representative than the groups recently discussed (e.g. the intransitive verbs of motion and the reflexives). There are only three verbs of this class frequently met in the texts under consideration: *ayudar, dar* and *enbiar.* The prevailing function of the preposition *a* is to indicate the *goal* of the action (*to, toward*): *ayudauan le a mantener el regno,* Cron 16b43; *los tornara a obedecer el sennorio de Roma,* Cron 158b17. Occasionally, as in the last few sections, a passage will emphasize the *purpose* element of the preposition: *pidio abeuer,* SDom 306; *diogelo abeuer,* SDom 307. *Mouer* and *tornar* are found among these transitives, although they are more regularly used as intransitive verbs of motion. *Dar* offers a number of delicate problems discussed below.

aduxir.

This verb illustrates the normal use of the *a*-infinitive to indicate the *goal* of the action.

los aduxieron a seer pocos *Cron* 4b1
. . . fasta quem aduxo a casar con estotro *Cron* 42a16

ayudar.

This is one of the most frequent verbs of the transitive group taking *a*-infinitive, the preposition regularly indicating the *goal* of the action with *ayudar*. The pure infinitive and that with *pora* also appear in the *ayudar* locution, though more rarely: *Se Dios me aiudase la uoluntad complir*, Sac 145. The *Crónica* yields all except three of the numerous examples cited below.

ruego . . . que me ayude a rogar *Cid* 363
tu nos ayuda las almas asaluar *SDom* 766
ayudol el diablo aprender la soldada *Sac* 210
. . . que los ayudassen a librar daquella coyta *Cron* 15b53
ayudauan le a mantener el regno *Cron* 16b43
. . . quel ayudassen a deffender Roma *Cron* 20b8
. . . quel ayudassen a cercar la uilla *Cron* 35b43
. . . por tal que ge lo ayude a auer *Cron* 299a20
. . . que gelo ayudassen a mantener *Cron* 324b28
ayudol ella misma a armar *Cron* 341a45

Also: *Cron* 345a7, 346b48, 379b19, 429b27, 445b4, 518a25, 547b17, 547b40, 548a22, 548a24, 555b12, 559a21, 561a21, 561a48, 572b20, etc.

dar.

Concerning *dar* with *a*-infinitive Menéndez Pidal states:[1] "La preposición *a* otras veces sirve para marcar el fin: *Dio a partir estos dineros*, Cid 804." This is found to be relatively true of all the other instances of *dar a* with infinitive. The statement of Diez[2] is not at all contradictory to this when he says that *dar* with infinitive may be equivalent to *lasciare* (hence *dexar* in Old Spanish), in the sense of *permitting*. This is stated for the pure infinitive by Diez. Only one example of this principle is found in our texts: *Porque daban al pueblo beber de buen castigo*, SOria 60. In this passage *beber* is an active infinitive object of *daban*, not a noun as *beber* often is; thus the idea of *permitting* or *causing* can be felt in *daban* rather than its literal sense of *giving*. The poet uses both the pure and *a*-infinitives with equivalent sense in: *Tu me da bien empezar*,

[1] *Cid*, § 161, [3. [2] *Gram.* III, p. 208.

tu me da bien a complir, Loor 3. The introduction of *a* before the infinitive gives a sense of *goal* to the action that does not conspicuously interfere with this idea of *permitting* or *causing: entre tales omnes me dieron a beuir*, Alix 926; *bien a beber me diestes*, Sig 28; *me das a veyer tamaña alegria*, Alix 945; *tan grandes quebrantos nos dieron a veyer*, Alix 1422; *Ruega . . . que nos de en cabo a ueer la su faz*, SDom 772. The *goal* of *a* merges into a more definite *purpose* in *diogelo a beuer*, SDom 307; *sy non ouieral dado venino a beuer*, Alix 627; *dyol mucho a ganar*, Alix 981; *dieron la a criar a un hermano*, Cron 33a36; *yl dan alguna animalia a matar*, Cron 74b1. The passive sense seems to make itself felt in the infinitive from time to time, though in most cases the sense is satisfied by either the active or passive rendering, as was generally true of *fazer* and infinitive. It is quite natural, however, to feel a passive sense in such instances as *lo dió a criar*, Mil 579; *yl dan alguna animalia a matar*, Cron 74b1. In passages having *beber* it is sometimes easy to read a noun value into the infinitive, though not when *a* is used. It is clearly a noun in *Diol beber tan amargo que peor non podria*, since it is modified by an adjective. In *diogelo abeuer*, SDom 307, it is clearly a verb as well as in *bien a beber me diestes*, Sig 28, and *venino a beuer*, Alix 627. The *de*-infinitive is also used with *dar: dauan de comer*, Cron 523b25 (for other verbs taking *de-* and *a*-infinitives with quite similar sense, see *auer*, *ser* and *tener*, § 45).

dieronte a matar a los tus amigos *Alix* 1630
yo a ti lo diera todo a ordenar *Alix* 1759
diol a criar al rey *Cron* 7b45
dieron la a criar a un hermano *Cron* 33a36
non querie dar esto a entender *Cron* 53a45
yl dan alguna animalia a matar *Cron* 74b1

Also: *Alix* 1630, 1759; *Cid* 3381; *Cron* 706a15.

endereçar.

Por- and *pora*-infinitives also occur with *endereçar.*

endereçarie al malo a fazer bien *Cron* 85b4

enbiar (enu-).

The infinitive with *por* and *pora*, as well as without preposition, is also noted with *enbiar*. The function of the preposition is clearly that of *goal* (*quando alguno enuiauan a conquerir tierra*, Cron 24b1), becoming *purpose* when *enbiar* has an indirect object which assumes to itself the *goal* element naturally associated with *enbiar* (*enuiaron . . . los mandaderos al rey . . . a dezirle que . . .*, Cron 391a9). As has been most often found with verbs taking the *a*-infinitive, a majority of the available instances come from the late prose-text, the *Crónica*. *Enbiar* and its infinitive may each have direct and indirect objects, and the position of these objects is not fixed, so that the context often has to be resorted to in order to determine with which verb a given object functions: *a rogar uos enbian*, SDom 278; *enbiol a dezir . . .*, Alix 1571. *Enbiar a dezir* is the most frequent *enbiar* locution and *dezir* usually takes the indirect object despite its occasional position with *enbiar* (*enbioles a dezir en paz e en amor que catasen a el por su enperador*, Alix 1112).

enbio a amatarla ante que fues ardida *Alix* 860
enbio a la madre de Dario a rogar que . . . *Alix* 1568
. . . que enuiasse a aquel mismo Carthon a poblar aquel logar *Cron* 37a2
enuio luego un so hermano . . . a correr la tierra *Cron* 364b52
enuio a don Velasco . . . a firmar las pazes *Cron* 422b36
enuiaron los alaraues . . . a rogar et dezir a Mahomat Almahadi por sus mandaderos *Cron* 457a6
enuio luego sus mandados . . . a dezirles que . . . Cron 418b2

Also: *Cron* 396b17, 417a20, 527a28, 540b42, 562a30.

leuar.

With this verb of motion, *a* with the infinitive naturally indicates the *goal* of the action, yet in actual instances it expresses rather more of *purpose*. The dependent infinitive is susceptible of the passive sense mentioned for such phrases as *dar a entender* (see *dar* above). All citations come from the prose *Crónica*. The only notable locution is *leuar a enterrar*.

leuaronle a enterrar *Cron* 449b21, 714b39, 453b15
leuauanlo todo a vender *Cron* 569a15
le leuauan a abeurar *Cron* 641a46

meter.

The only locution to be specially noted for this verb is *meter a leer*, in which *poner* may replace *meter* (*Mahomet fue puesto a leer*, Cron 263a26). *Meter* also takes the infinitive with *en* and *por*.

El padre de siete años metiole a leer *Alix* 16
metieron lo a leer *Cron* 164a41
metiolos a cometer fuertes fechos *Cron* 229a9
metamos mano a destroyr los gascones *Cron* 286a24
metiolos luego a leer *Cron* 483b31

mostrar.

As a transitive, *mostrar* is practically equivalent to *ensennar*. It also takes the pure infinitive. The personal object of *mostrar* is noted as direct.

et de las mostrar a ferir de segures et . . . a tirar dardos *Cron* 126a52
mostrolos a lidiar et a combatersse et a ser caçadores *Cron* 483b33

mouer (-v-).

Besides its transitive use, *mouer* appears as intransitive and as reflexive, all three constructions taking *a*-infinitive to indicate the *goal* of the action.

Puedes mover a omne a fer desaguisado *SLaur* 39
le mouieron ya descubiertamientra a cometer esta batalla *Cron* 67a19

pedir.

As with *dar* above, the *a*-infinitive with *pedir* expresses *purpose*.

pidio abeuer *SDom* 306

poner.

This is an excellent illustration of the *a*-infinitive expressing *goal*. *En*-infinitive is also noted with *poner*. *Meter* is used

as well as *poner* in the locution *poner a leer*, cited below (*metieron lo a leer*, Cron 164a41).

Mahomat fue puesto a leer *Cron* 263a26

tornar.

This verb is much more frequent as an intransitive verb of motion, and as a reflexive. No other infinitive constructions are noted with the transitive use of the verb.

los tornara a obedecer el sennorio de Roma *Cron* 158b17

THE A-INFINITIVE WITH AUER AND SER

auer.

45. One of the most complicated single constructions to be studied under the preposition *a* is *auer* with *a*-infinitive, so common in the early language of Spain. At first it seems quite simple, but on further study it reveals a number of very interesting problems. It has already been noted that the relation existing between *auer* with the pure infinitive and *auer* with *a* and *de* is extremely close. Most students of Romance syntax give approximately the same sense to the two prepositional constructions, but keep the pure infinitive apart by itself. The problem is, however, more subtle than that. The ordinary function of the pure infinitive with *auer* is the expression of simple *futurity*, a construction generally adopted in the Romance languages. The association between the preceding infinitive and the conjugated form of *auer* is so close that the two component parts are felt to form a unit, and in the course of time become thought of and written as one word. The relation of the infinitive to the verb is of course that of object. Diez states[1] that the Latin *habeo dicere* expressed only *possibility*, not *necessity*. In Vulgar Latin times he finds that both the Latin sense of *possibility* and the Romance sense of *necessity* are to be noted in the *habere* locution. When the Romance languages were in their early stages of development, yet might

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 217.

reasonably be called the Romance languages, the sense of *possibility*, which becomes the regular future and conditional, and that of *necessity*, which is preserved in the prepositional constructions, were struggling for the supremacy. Although with the earliest Spanish documents the two senses were becoming fixed in what was to be their permanent form (*futurity* in the pure infinitive construction, and *necessity* in that with *a* and *de*) the changing conditions can be easily perceived and studied. For one thing, the two verbs going to make up this practical future and conditional could be separated by a personal pronoun. This is quite current in the early texts, occurring over fifty times in the *Cid*, and commonly in other works (*ir lo hemos buscar*, Cid 1438; *fer lo he de veluntad*, Cid 1447; *Semeiar mie, señores, si a todos vos plaz . . .* Sac 157).

Menéndez Pidal[1] discusses these constructions thus: "Muchas veces, al lado de la preposición *de*, se emplea también *a* indistintamente. Tal es el caso con los auxiliares que rigen infinitivo para formar una expresión perifrástica de la voz activa con diversos matices de significación: — *auer* expresa la necesidad, rigiendo al infinitivo ora con *de* . . . ora con *a*. La preposición falta rara vez, acaso sólo en: *los que han lidiar*, Cid 3523 . . . El pretérito, rigiendo á un infinitivo con *de* o *a*, expresa no la necesidad, sino un acaecimiento subsiguiente ó futuro respecto al tiempo pretérito de una narración." These statements, though in general true, will permit some slight modification. First, there is no reference here to the exact function of the preposition. Secondly, the statement that the preterit does not on occasion express *necessity* can with difficulty be proved. The prepositional function that needs mention here, and that serves to clarify to a considerable extent the locution discussed, is that one already so often found in the preposition *a*, *goal*. This was pointed out by Meyer-Lübke, who considers *habere ad* to date back to a period before Romance, and *goal* to be the concept inherent in it. The situation can be better visualized from the English locutions

[1] *Cid*, § 161, [2.

I have it to do, and *I have to do it*. In the first phrase, the concept of *goal* can be clearly felt while that of *necessity* is undeveloped though present, but in the second phrase the element of *necessity* springs to view full-grown. In Old Spanish decided evidences of this original concept of *goal* are to be noted, and numerous delicate shades intermediate between the two extremes of *goal* and *necessity*. Similarity of form does not indicate similarity of sense in these instances of *auer* with the infinitive. The citations below are admittedly debatable, but give clear enough indications of the *goal* element in *auer* with *a*-infinitive verging upon simple *futurity*, and not *necessity*. It will be remarked that no instance of the preterit (*ouo*) is included here, this tense of *auer* with prepositional infinitive alone being excepted by Menéndez Pidal from the expression of *necessity*.

Fijo, sy de buena ventura *as a* seyer,
o sy en este siglo algo *as a* valer,
en muchas grandes cueytas te avras a veyer *Alix* 64

Entiende, Alixandre, que te quiero fablar,
sal de Herupa, ve a vltra mar,
avras todos los rregnos del mundo a ganar *Alix* 1137

El omne que non ha de cueyta a sallir,
quanto mas pudiese se deuie encobrir,
al omne que non veen non saben escarnir *Alix* 1602

sy tu a el tornases el te sabrie honrrar,
cayste en desyerto en auieso lugar,
ouieronte las bestias todas a devorar *Alix* 1761

quanto gana omne ha lo todo a dexar,
hanlo sus enemigos mortales a lograr *Alix* 1787

(In this instance, *ha . . . a dexar* largely expresses necessity, *han . . . a lograr* goal, as can be felt in the English *he has to leave it all* and *they have it to gain.*)

The following examples are given of the preterit having *necessity* implied in them. Menéndez Pidal considers the pret-

erit *ouo* to express only *un acaecimiento subsiguiente ó futuro respecto al tiempo pretérito de una narración*, and cites *Alix* 2082 with no special comment on its element of *necessity*.

> Pero tanto ovieron contender e buscar,
> Fasta que lo ovieron en cabo a fallar.

It would seem to me that the first line, which is the one in question, contains the element of *necessity* quite clearly, while the second, unmentioned, evidences little if any *necessity*. The lack of a preposition in the first line has no visible effect on the sense; nor is any reason given for functionally distinguishing *ouieron* from its singular *ouo*.

In the *Cid* 1145 occurs a clear instance of *necessity* in the preterit (Menéndez Pidal cites this case and 953 both under *auer* expressing *necessity* and along with the preterit *ouo* (see above):

> Del otra part entróles Álbar Fáñez,
> Maguer les pesa, oviéronse a dar e a arrancar *Cid* 1145

Other illustrations of *necessity* with *ouo* or *ouieron:*

> ouieron a tollerse del portillo syn grado *Alix* 214
>
> ouieron los griegos las rriendas a boluer *Alix* 498
>
> ovieronle syn grado el canpo a dexar *Alix* 645
>
> conterta como a Luçifer que tanto quiso subyr,
> desenparolo Dios et ovo a perir *Alix* 781
>
> Ovose de las cuevas por esso arrancar,
> Ca non querie al so grado el voto quebrantar *SMill* 46

The above discussion and examples, intended to show that the preterit of the *auer* locution (*ouo* and *ouieron*) could carry the sense of *necessity*, does not try to disprove Menéndez Pidal's main point. The preterit usually does act as he so clearly states, and it is only in sporadic passages that the element of *necessity* can be proved. In numerous cases, however, it is apparently a fusion of *necessity* and *futurity* rather than either sense alone that is implied. The following are cited from the *Cid* by Menéndez Pidal in this connection:

ouieron te a laudare *Cid* 335
ovieron a morar *Cid* 953 (see p. 182 above)
oviéronse a dar e a arrancar *Cid* 1145 (see p. 182 above)
ovieron a enbiar *Cid* 1181
oviérongela a dar *Cid* 1210

Other instances of the preterit of the *auer* locution with various shades of *futurity* and *necessity* follow:

ouo a vencerlos *Alix* 151
ouos de la reyna fuerte a enamorar *Alix* 154
ouo lo a pedir *Alix* 165
ouolo a vençer *Alix* 166
ouolo a prender *Alix* 166
ouo el arbol a fallar *Alix* 311
ouole el padre el nonbre a mudar *Alix* 344
oue ant ty a uenir *Alix* 349
ovo a la rreyna el su prez a plegar *Alix* 381
Ovolo en grant priuança el rrey a acojer *Alix* 382
ouo todos los pleitos la dueña a saber *Alix* 382
ouo el rrey a yr *Alix* 383
ouo a bollyr *Alix* 383
ouieron a veyer *Alix* 389
ouolos a entranbos a degollar a dientes *Alix* 391

This is an appropriate place to consider the matter of possible absorption of *a* in the *auer* locution, which might affect a number of our citations. By absorption of *a* is meant here the disappearance of the preposition *a* before or after a juxtaposed *a*. Absorption of vowels doubtless operated in Old Spanish, as proved by Menéndez Pidal for the *Cid*, and as clearly shown by Professor Fitzgerald for the *Santo Domingo de Silos*. Professor Fitzgerald offers excellent material for discussion of the phase of the subject interesting the *auer* locution, since he finds a number of examples of possible absorption of the preposition *a*, and, if the principle is proved for the cases he cites, it might equally well apply here.

The first passage, cited by Professor Fitzgerald as showing absorption of *a* is:

El padre cordojoso entro asu altar,
como era usado, al Criador rogar,

in which *al* is of course the absorbing word. But if the principle is accepted in this instance, it would normally be accepted in three others:

entro el ala iglesia, al criador rogar *SDom* 300
entro a la iglesia rogar al Criador *SDom* 409
Entro ala iglesia al Criador rogar *SDom* 425.

In the poem from which all these four doubtful cases come there is only one passage in which the preposition *a* is clearly used with *entrar*, and that is:

Entro enna mañana ala mjssa dezir *SDom* 346

Against four cases that might be considered as instances of pure infinitive with verbs of motion, one of the most frequent and unquestionable infinitive constructions of the early language, there is only one passage in this or in the other poems by Berceo to indicate his preference for the *a*-infinitive with *entrar*. On the other hand, he wittingly employs the pure infinitive in four cases, where there is no possible reason for supposing it absorbed:

Entró el sacristano el sepulcro catar *SMill* 335
Por entrar a la missa la confession façer *Mil* 71
Entró fer oraçion el novio refrescado *Mil* 338
. . . Que pueda entrar entro veer la magestad *Mil* 768

Judging, then, from Berceo's own treatment of the *entrar* locutions, it must be said that there is much more evidence against absorption in these cases than for it. Why, indeed, is it necessary to suppose that this principle operated in these doubtful instances of the *entrar* locution? I do not see that it is necessary, since the pure infinitive answers all needs of the passages, and is sanctioned by the author as sufficient. The fact that it is poetry that is being discussed also has some bearing on the matter, since the *a*-infinitive was used more rarely in the poetry than in the prose of this period. This is seen to be true by comparing the citations from prose and poetry under any

of the verbs of motion of this chapter. It will be found that *a* was customary in prose texts such as the *Crónica* for the greater number of these verbs, but was often peculiarly rare in the poetry of the same general period. It was probably a matter of temporary convenience that decided whether or not Berceo employed *a* in these instances.

Two more passages are cited to show absorption of *a:*

> començo muy afirmes al Criador rogar *SDom* 450
> ante començo el la açada buscar *SDom* 726

Here Professor Fitzgerald takes *al* and *açada* as the absorbing words. He states that *a* or *de* was nearly always required with *començar* and infinitive, and that Cuervo only gives one instance of the omission of the preposition with *començar*. But, as also remarked by the editor, it is significant that at least one passage in this same poem has no *a* with the infinitive, and permits no explanation of such omission through absorption: *començaron los monges las canpañas tañer*, SDom 568. If Berceo omits the preposition here, it is reasonable to suppose he may omit it elsewhere if evidence shows that such treatment was by no means rare in this period. Nine examples of the pure infinitive with *començar* are available from the few texts herein studied, none of them permitting absorption to be considered as the cause of the absence of *a:*

> començo darle guerra *Alix* 402
> Començol mal traher con palabras yradas *Alix* 451
> Començol dar priesa *Alix* 685
> començaron guerrear luego *Cron* 219a6

Also: *Cron* 605a46, 653b19, 684b32, 741a50.

There are enough examples of the pure infinitive with *començar*, then, to seem to indicate that the two cases in question would be by no means irregular, if considered as instances of the pure infinitive object with *començar*, no question being raised as to the possible disappearance of the preposition.

Professor Fitzgerald further states: "One might be tempted to count as another case of *a embedida* after *fue* the verse *fue*

caer al sepulcro del confessor honrrado, SDom 669." In such a case it seems to me that there can be no valid reason for considering the possibility of absorption, since, in the first place, in the *Santo Domingo* itself there are eleven cases of *yr* with pure infinitive against five with *a*-infinitive. The pure infinitive with *yr* was, indeed, more regular in the poetry of the period than was the prepositional infinitive (the *Alixandre* yields about twice as many instances of the construction without preposition as it does with *a*, i.e. 56 and 29 respectively). There is of course the further fact that absorption of *a* by the *e* of *fue* would be quite abnormal. But it should be added, in justice to Professor Fitzgerald, that he suggests rather than affirms absorption of *a* to be operative in this verse, and states himself that *yr* does not require the preposition.

The conclusion that I wish to emphasize is that, whereas absorption did doubtless operate in certain instances and in certain conditions, it must not be assumed, just because there is an *a* in juxtaposition, as operative with the preposition *a* in those instances where the pure infinitive is used. The pure infinitive should be considered regular and normal until the evidence is conclusive in favor of voluntary omission of the preposition.

The application of the above discussion on the immediate problem of *auer* with the *a*-infinitive is obvious. The preposition is lacking in a fair number of instances of this locution, and, where possible, the temptation would be felt to consider absorption as responsible, but in view of the evidence given above, absorption will not be postulated as operative in these passages. They will then, until further evidence is at hand, be classed as instances of the pure infinitive construction.

A few facts should be mentioned concerning the doubtful cases of this *auer* locution, however. In Berceo's own works the pure infinitive is found in seven passages. In only one of these is there a neighboring *a:*

> Por que en tal periglo nos aves a uviar
> Por el tu guyonage avemos arrivar,
> Et de aquellas ondas tan fuertes escapar *Loor* 197

The sense does not require a separate preposition here. It is of course possible to explain the form *arrivar* as the scribe's writing for *a rivar*, or as a real instance of the absorption of *a*. However, the most natural assumption is that it is the regular pure infinitive object with *auer*, and that any ingenious explanation is unneccssary, since the use or omission of the preposition would not alter the sense of the passage. In the *Alixandre*, there are over three hundred cases of *a* with *auer* against a negligible number in which there is any possibility of absorption. Of these few, one has the neighboring *a* in another hemistich, a fact which would naturally militate against its being explained by this principle. On the other hand, there are over thirty cases where the preposition *a* is permitted by the poet to stand in hiatus with another *a*. It would appear, then, that when he employed the pure infinitive, he did so voluntarily, and not because it was objectionable to have the preposition stand in juxtaposition with another *a*. As this was the same ancient construction that had developed, in different order and with different sense, into the Romance future, the poet might occasionally use it, and consider that tradition consecrated its employment, especially as the prepositional construction was a recent development of the language.

Instances of juxtaposed *a:* [1]

Los que . . . han alimosna pedir *Alix* 1596
Avremos . . . la cosa destajar *Alix* 2045
ouieron atender e buscar *Alix* 2224

Instances of permitted hiatus with the vowel *a:*

ovo envidia a naçer *Mil* 100
Ovo la mezquiniella a plegar al forado *Mil* 146
Ovieron con sue cuita a romper el silençio *Mil* 208

[1] The context will usually indicate whether the initial *a* of an infinitive is separable, or necessary to the sense of the infinitive (*ouieron se aguardar*, Alix 2162; *auieron aplegar*, Alix 1276). It seems probable that the actual use of the preposition *a* in the infinitive would satisfy any possible feeling of need for *a* much more thoroughly than an unrelated final *a* in a preceding noun (see *Alix* 2045 and p. 25 above).

Ovieronse en cueta a veer *SMill* 478
avie sines dubda a seer martiriado *Laur* 27
avia adezirgelo *SDom* 37
ouo la uieia a morir *SDom* 112
Ovola a sacar *SDom* 416
Ovo . . . el burgés a asmar *Mil* 635
Abran con el diablo siempre a aturar *Loor* 182
Ovolo . . . el rrey a acojer *Alix* 382
ouo Vlixes a andar *Alix* 731
ouieron los de Tiro trayçion a asmar *Alix* 1079
ouo mucho a acostar *Alix* 1361
merçet nos avra en cabo a aver *Alix* 1422
ouiste en cabo en lo seco a afogar *Alix* 1762
ovolo a alcançar *Alix* 1965
ovo a asmar *Alix* 2007
ouieronse . . . del canpo a alçar *Alix* 2032
Ovo vn firme seso en cabo a asmar *Alix* 2092
ovo grant tienpo con las bestias a andar *Alex* 2382

Also: *Alix* 1568, 1722, 2092, etc.

For further investigation of these phenomena, see other instances of *auer* with *a*-infinitive in:

Cid 169, 229, 322, 358, 431, 642, 953, 1145, 1181, 1210, 1260, 1666, 1667, 2220, 2321, 2661, 3235, 3312, 3451, 3470, 3523; *Sac* 91, 144, 146, 183, 286; *Duelo* 7, 45, 72, 168; *Mil* 87, 103, 127, 128, 134, 156, 185, 286, 296, 342, 379, 382, 430, 435, 512, 563, 592, 635, 636, 717, 741, 797; *SOria* 102, 163; *Sig.* 69; *SDom* 37, 111, 112, 126, 162, 223, 284, 357, 358, 416, 422, 423, 489, 509, 515, 551, 593, 641, 691, 696, 698, 724, 726; *Loor* 20, 119. 152, 182, 195, 197, 224, 226; *SMill* 26, 40. 47, 100, 104, 114, 146, 164, 208, 218, 272, 282, 291, 293, 343, 345, 348, 350, 367, 415, 453, 478; *SLaur* 27, 75, 77; *Alix* 3, 20, 22, 25, 27, 41, 64, 77, 112, 148, 150, 151, 154, 156, 165, 166, 182, 193, 210, 214, 240, 260, 296, 311, 338, 344, 349, 359, 376, 377, 381, 382, 383, 389, 391, 393, 394, 409, 446, 447, 487, 498, 502, 512, 519, 528, 532, 549, 573, 574, 584, 585, 588, 590, 597, 603, 606, 618, 629, 653, 654, 675, 692, 705, 708, 719, 731, 734, 735, 758, 764, 772, 781, 819, 882, 887, 889, 892, 915, 963, 966, 981, 999, 1000,

1006, 1016, 1018, 1024, 1033, 1034, 1071, 1079, 1090, 1106, 1107, 1111, 1137, 1160, 1166, 1185, 1206, 1232, 1253, 1281, 1296, 1306, 1312, 1323, 1329, 1333, 1341, 1348, 1355, 1361, 1369, 1370, 1372, 1375, 1379, 1388, 1396, 1398, 1401, 1404, 1418, 1422, 1425, 1486, 1490, 1539, 1542, 1554, 1558, 1559, 1568, 1581, 1602, 1624, 1635, 1668, 1678, 1722, 1723, 1746, 1757, 1761, 1762, 1787, 1792, 1814, 1834, 1840, 1870, 1879, 1889, 1903, 1920, 1950, 1956, 1962, 1965, 1971, 1975, 1980, 1981, 1989, 1991, 2007, 2013, 2024, 2030, 2036, 2037, 2045, 2053, 2054, 2056, 2064, 2071, 2086, 2091, 2092, 2094, 2098, 2135, 2138, 2143, 2146, 2148, 2153, 2154, 2158, 2162, 2164, 2165, 2175, 2190, 2192, 2199, 2200, 2219, 2224, 2227, 2231, 2234, 2237, 2240, 2255, 2333, 2361, 2362, 2365, 2382, 2412, 2419, 2420, 2431, 2443, 2449, 2452, 2479, 2509, 2515, 2533, 2537, 2538, 2554, 2574, 2575, 2593, 2613, 2625, 2636, etc.

As is seen by comparing the citations with and without *a*, there is scarcely ever any difficulty in the sense of the passages, nor does the presence or the absence of the preposition affect the sense. In the same way it is difficult to see any appreciable difference in meaning between the *auer a* and the *auer de* constructions. The original function of the prepositions has become very faint indeed, and scholars such as Diez and Menéndez Pidal make little or no distinction between these prepositional uses of *auer*. *Auer a* is far more common than *auer de* in the texts studied, but by the time of Santillana, the *de*-infinitive had definitely won the victory.[1]

Examples of *auer* with *de*-infinitive:

como ha de seyer *Alix* 375
Eneas por tanto ouo de escapar *Alix* 528
he de seyer desbaratado *Alix* 656
aue de moryr *Alix* 658
como auie de far *Alix* 803
como auien de fer *Alix* 854
lo he de tragar *Alix* 1358
Ouo de fincar oio Dario a do andaua *Alix* 1364

[1] Diez, *Gram.* III, p. 217.

quando han a mouer, como han de posar *Alix* 296
as mucho de veyer *Alix* 297
ouo de parir *Alix* 338
ouo de fablar *Alix* 363
non se ouo de vagar *Alix* 1414
de ir he enpos ellos *SDom* 512
otras cosas muchas auemos de ueder *SDom* 222

Auer with *de*-infinitive also appears in: *Cid* 321, 354, 678, 834, 1136, 1449, 1656, 1721, 1876, 3320, 3321, 3324; *SDom* 222, 428, 488, 489, 512, 516, 526, 691, 719; *Sac* 6, 48, 86, 91; *SOria* 98, 140, 185; *SMill* 14, 197, 226, 234, 321, 486; *Duelo* 108, 125, 139; *Sig* 54, *Loor* 179; *Mil* 81, 462, 581, 635, 711, 797; *Alix* 52, 296, 297, 311, 330, 335, 338, 358, 359, 363, 369, 375, 528, 624, 656, 658, 675, 780, 803, 854, 904, 947, 966, 1257, 1276, 1358, 1364, 1414, 1627, 1668, 1674, 1679, 1728, 1756, 1757, 1847, 1856, 1903, 1905, 2039, 2094, 2129, 2246, 2467, 2516, 2584, etc.

ser.

Diez[1] considers *esse ad* to be the passive of *habere ad* and *de*. He cites an infinitive construction found in Latin that would seem at first to be the parent of the Romance form. Latin *est dicere, est credere*, etc. only expressed *possibility* (never the *perifrastic sense* of the *auer* and *ser* locutions), and were used impersonally while the derived languages regularly permit personal use in these constructions. Menéndez Pidal[2] agrees with Diez in calling *ser a* the passive of *auer a*, and adds that the modern equivalents are the impersonal *hay que* (for such cases as *es a fer*, Cid 2995), and *haber de* with intransitives (for *a passar es por nos*, Cid 3528, etc.). The texts studied offer only a small number of examples of *ser* with *a*-infinitive in comparison with the much more active *auer* locution. Practically all texts are represented, however. The infinitive constructions with *a* and *de* are found in about the same number

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 218, 2. [2] *Cid*, § 161, [2.

of passages, and show great similarity of sense and treatment. For *ser* with *de*-infinitive, see § 31.

son a aguardar *Cid* 1822
el debdo que a cada uno a conplir serave *Cid* 2365
debdo nos es a cunplir *Cid* 2598
es a paresçer cada vno *Alix* 77
que sepades quantas serien las gentes ad asmar *Alix* 232
serie mucha sangre primero a uerter *Alix* 389
somos . . . a veyer *Alix* 487
seran a rrancar *Alix* 933
que . . . non sea a tomar *Alix* 1704
serie . . . grant cosa a ganar *Alix* 2079
era a mouer *SDom* 692
quando fuere el mundo a finar *Sac* 53
seran a porfazar *Loor* 53
somos a veer *Loor* 173
A tomar fo la alma *Mil* 209
ante fuera a prender *Mil* 388
a probar seredes *Mil* 550

The most frequent form of this locution is of course in the third person singular of the present. With this usually impersonal construction, the personal agent is expressed by *a* and *por* with the pronoun (*Por nos es a complir toda esta vegada*, Duelo 95; *es a mi a conplir*, Alix 374).

es a fer *Cid* 2995, 3241
a passar es por nos *Cid* 3528
el algo deste mundo todo es a perder *Alex* 71
es . . . todo a oluidar *Alix* 240
es a mi a conplir *Alix* 374
es esto a poner *Alix* 623
es a yr *Alix* 656
el bien desti mundo todo es a perder *Alix* 753
es avn a caher *Alix* 782
a tierra es a tornar *Alix* 1790
es toda cosa a quebrar *Alix* 1881

THE INFINITIVE WITH POR

46. It will be remembered that expression of *purpose* was remarked as one of the functions of the preposition *a*. It was not, however, stated as its most characteristic or primary sense. *Purpose* is the most characteristic phase of *por*, and derives from the Latin *pro*. It expresses the purpose of an action more naturally and more vividly than the general and varied *a*-construction. Menéndez Pidal gives as the three concepts involved in *por:* [1]

1. *la falta de realización de la acción del infinitivo regido*
2. *el fin*
3. *el motivo*

This sums up in brief the most important functions of *por*, though each of the above subdivisions is sufficiently broad to deserve considerable individual attention. Yet these are the three basic senses of *por* that are seen so currently in Old Spanish. The first is largely confined to the verbs *ser, estar, auer, fincar*, and *yazer* (*li estaba por exir la almiella*, SMill 343; *yazie por morirse*, Cron 717b13). It is also responsible in large part for the independent *por*-infinitive, such as *por poblar e pobladas*, SMill 477. The second is quite general, covering as did *a*, the transitives, intransitives, reflexives (*adobar, andar, guisarse: anda por la fe guerrear*, SLaur 29; *guisosse por yr a ueella*, Cron 38b19). The class of *por*-infinitives denoting *purpose* and depending on a whole clause is larger than that with any other preposition. The relation between the infinitive and the finite verb of the sentence may vary in intensity from that of object-infinitive, in which the relation is at its closest, to that of dependence on the whole clause, in which the relation is at its weakest. Examples of the more evident relations will be given below. The *por*-infinitive in the third sense mentioned above (*cause*) usually does not depend on any single verb (*era aquel puerto tenido por el meior de toda Affrica, por estar y nauios en todo tiempo*, Cron 48b19).

[1] See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, pp. 303–307.

One territory in which *a* does not at all rival *por* is in use with adjectives and participles. This is one of the strongest classes of *por*-infinitives, while with *a* it is almost non-existent.

An illustration of the difficulty met in classifying instances of the *por*-infinitive is found in the listing by Meyer-Lübke [1] under *purpose* clauses of the following: *no lo querie nul hombre por derecho judgar, Por tu dormir con ella e nos yr a lidiar*, Alix 454; and *entraron en Estremadura por ser tierra rica*, Nov. ej., 27. The first of these citations offers a very delicate problem, but that *Por tu dormir* here expresses *purpose* seems to me highly improbable. It would be more natural to consider the whole clause introduced by *por* as being in apposition with *lo*, since it is the sense of the whole clause that is judged as not right. Indeed, it would be as good a construction, and certainly more regular, simply to omit the *por* entirely, in which case the infinitive would be considered as a substantive in apposition with *lo*, and a normal sentence result (cf. *lo que era peor de todo, uenir los dAffrica a Roma*, Cron 45a49, § 79). The second citation is fortunately much simpler than this, and permits easy recognition of the *por*-infinitive expressing the *cause* of the action (cf. *se preciauan por alançar*, Cron 431b31, § 56). The *por*-infinitive also expresses *concession*, and indicates the *means* of an action: *concession* in *Ca esto que uos queredes aun por seer uençudos, lo que Dios no quiera, podedes lo fazer en el cabo*, Cron 73b20; and the *means* of the action in *sy omne non gana prez por dezir o por fer*, Alix 71).

The por-Infinitive with a Substantive

47. There are certain cases in which the *por*-infinitive depends on a noun rather than on an individual verb. These are rare at best, and the relations involved are sometimes loose, but certain instances of infinitive usage can be explained by no other theory (e.g. *el plazdo por el reyno quitar*,

[1] *Gram.* III, § 506.

Cid 392, cited by Menéndez Pidal). Other passages offering somewhat similar constructions are found as follows:

Puerta de pecadores por al çielo entrar *Himnos* 2. 1
el plazdo por el reyno quitar *Cid* 392
dos pedones solos por la puerta guardar *Cid* 686
Non es agora tiempo por en naves entrar *SOria* 159
Nol dolie so lazerio por las almas salvar *SMill* 282
por entrar alos cielos sangue faz el camino *Sac* 98
por depanar los buenos busca sienpre sendero *Alix* 1948

In the last citation above, *busca sendero* may be taken as governing *por depanar*, rather than the noun *sendero* alone. Of the same type is noted another *buscar* locution: *Por yr aParayso buscaualis carrera*, SDom 464. As can be seen in such cases, the infinitive but rarely offers clear evidence of depending on the noun alone.

The por-Infinitive Depends on an Adjective

48. With adjectives *por* nearly always indicates *purpose*, and the infinitive is very rarely susceptible of a passive sense, as in *la correl es viunrosa, buena por alargar*, Alix 2109. Generally, when such a relation is to be expressed, the preposition *de* appears (*digno de adorar*, SDom 253). With these adjectives, the past participles of various verbs are included (*osado, pagado*, etc.), even though at times their verbal force somewhat exceeds their adjectival sense (*uenido*, etc.). The exact gradation of adjectival and of verbal force is of course indeterminate, though examples of both extremes are available. For instance, *osado* has lost most of its participial value, while *vestido* has little else: *por canpear a ellos sol non somos osados*, Alix 596; *Velmezes vestidos por sufrir las guarniziones*, Cid 3073. Only the more striking syntactical relations will be pointed out under the various adjectives and participles. The infinitive with *de, en, pora* and *para* is also found in adjectival constructions (*eran buenas pora ganar e deffender tierra*, Cron 22a3; *en veer muy çerteros*, Sig 55; *nunca para comer vi cosa tan ligera*, Alix 799; *ligera de fazer*, Cron 420b11).

Adjectives.

bueno (also takes infinitive with *de*, *pora* and *para*).

buena por alargar *Alix* 2109

digno (used also with *de*-infinitive).

Asi mandas tus carnes, e assi las aguissas
Que por subir a los çielos tu digna te predigas *SOria* 36

firme.

Ellos por alargarse, los otros por redrarlos,
estauan todos firmes, señores e vasallos *Alix* 2054

goloso.

estaua cada vna por ganarla golosa *Alix* 326

grande (also cited by Menéndez Pidal as an adjective of *quantity* taking *por*-infinitive in Old Spanish, and *para* in the modern language).

grandes son los poderes por con ellos lidiar *Cid* 669
Grant serie la matheria por en ambos fablar *SLaur* 17

plazentero.

Por seguir tu conseio so muy bien plazentero *Sac* 42

presto.

prestos somos por conplir tu mandado *Alix* 195
presto fue Filotas por luego lo vengar *Alix* 999
presto estaua por los guardar sanos *Cron* 134a4

sabroso (employed also with *de*-infinitive).

Tienpo dulçe e sabroso por abastir casamientos *Alix* 1930

tal.

sy fuesen de tal guisa por auer rremedidos *Alix* 1258

tan (though in this form an adverb of *degree*, I include it here from its natural association with adjectives of *quantity*. There is only one case).

ca non so tan letrado por fer otro latino *SDom* 2

Participles.

More variety of sense and of usefulness is found in the participles taking the *por*-infinitive than in the regular adjectives above. This might be expected from their having both verbal and adjectival force, thus facilitating many fine distinctions in function and connotation. Representatives of most of the other classes of verbs taking *por*-infinitive are noted here, such as *venido* for the intransitive verbs of movement, *enviado* for the transitives, etc. (*fui . . . enviado Por reçibir martirio, seer cruçifigado*, Duelo 82; *por vengar mi despecho deves seyer pagado*, Alix 2413). These instances and a number of others might well be cited under the verb itself rather than under the participle, but are given here for purposes of comparison. Certain participles allow themselves to be grouped together because of similarity of meaning, such as those equivalent to the English *prepared for, ready to*, etc. These naturally take the *por*-infinitive in the majority of instances, though they can, with a slight shift of sense, have the preposition *de*. They are fairly numerous, but with sufficient individual force to keep them from being real synonyms. Of these the most important are: *adobado, aguisado, apareçido, apareiado, guisado* (*por batalla le dar estaua aguisado*, Alix 1165; *estaua el bien guisado por yr a Espanna*, Cron 101b11). Others express in varying quality attitude toward or desire for something: *adenodado, asaborgado, auiuado, cuytado, demetido, denodado, endiablado, pagado, saborgado*. In any case, the prevailing concept in the *por*-infinitive with these participles is that of purpose, more definite than in *a*, less definite than in *pora* and *para*. Few of the participles noted below occur more than once (viz., *aguisado, apareiado, denodado, guisado*). The *Crónica* shows a preference for the *pora*-infinitive, and the poetry for the construction with *por* (*apareiado pora foyr*, Cron 379b33; *fueron apareiados por fer su cumplimjento*, SDom 615). The *para*-infinitive is strangely lacking with participles, though used with adjectives (*buena . . . para librar sus moros*, Cron 746a50). *Andar* and *venir* give greater vividness of expres-

sion than *ser* and *estar* when used as auxiliaries with these participles (*por dar en Alixandre andauan acordados*, Alix 1339; *por feryr a Nicanor vino muy demetido*, Alix 1011).

aconsejado.

eran por foyr del todos aconsejados *Alix* 1387

acordado (noted also with *en*-infinitive).

por dar en Alixandre andauan acordados *Alix* 1339

adebdado (used with *de*-infinitive also).

Por façer el tu ruego mucho so adebdada *SOria* 154

adenodado (cf. *denodado* below).

Vynien adenodados por la villa entrar,
por enforçar a Paris e a ella quemar,
prender todos los otros e la villa hermar *Alix* 486
por entrar a la isla fueron a denodados *Alix* 1983

aguisado (considerably the most frequent of these participles with the *por*-infinitive; also used with *de*-infinitive; cf. *guisado* below). The use of *mal* and *bien* with *aguisado* is particularly to be noted.

por defendernos somos mal aguisados *Alix* 873
por fer buen bernaje estan mal aguisados *Alix* 949
por tenprar el ayre todas bien aguisadas *Alix* 1521
Seo mal aguisado por ante él paresçer *Sig* 64

Also: *Alix* 1288, 1437, 1815; *Cid* 2322.

apareçido.

¡ estos casamientos non fuessen apareçidos,
por consagrar con Myo Çid don Rodrigo ! *Cid* 3356

apareiado (employed also with *de-* and *pora*-infinitives):

Por resçebir la graçia estaban apareiados *Loor* 154
fueron apareiados por fer su cumplimjento *SDom* 615

asaborgado (cf. *saborgado* below).

fueron asaborgados por esperar el plazo *Alix* 718

auiuado (taking also *en-* and *pora*-infinitives).

muy auiuados por lidiar *Cron* 501a1

cuytado.

vio que andaua cuytado por moryr *Alix* 1045

demandado.

Demandado fue Filotas por seyer lapidado *Alix* 1886

demetido.

por feryr a Nicanor vino muy demetido *Alix* 1011

denodado (used also with *pora*-infinitive; cf. *adenodado* above).

por feryr se con el vino muy denodado *Alix* 509
por yr luego ferir los eran muy denodados *Alix* 1278

escollido.

fueron escollidos por seyer delanteros *Alix* 2023

endiablado.

Vinie endiablado . . . por dar ad Alixandre grant colpe *Alix* 1346

fazendado.

por caher sobre Belsus andaua fazendado *Alix* 1887

guisado (used also with *de-* and *pora*-infinitives).

estaua el bien guisado por yr a Espanna *Cron* 101b11
teniendo sus huestes guisadas por lidiar otro dia *Cron* 198b53

mouido (*pora*-infinitive also used).

fueron todas mouidas por yr al fontanar *Alix* 2138

osado (more frequently employed with *de*-infinitive).

por canpear a ellos sol non somos osados *Alix* 596

pagado.

por vengar mi despecho deves seyer pagado *Alix* 2413

saborgado (*asaborgado* is also used with *por*-infinitive).

Era toda la gent por irse saborgada *Mil* 838

trametido.

por sacar te daquende so de Dios trametido *SDom* 655

uenido.

The adjectival function of *uenido* is emphasized by the use of *ser* instead of *auer;* cf. French *je suis venu.*

Yo so aquj uenjdo por ati uisitar *SDom* 719

The por-Infinitive as Object

49. The origin of this construction lies in the *purpose* sense so regular in *por*. It often seems a far cry to hark back to this basic relation between verb and infinitive, as the tendency is to make the connection so close that the two are thought of as almost a unit. This is, of course, characteristic of the object relation and the more frequent the locution is, the closer the two parts become in the mind of the speaker. The most highly developed example of this is the Romance future, where the two parts do become in fact a unit (*dar-e, je donner-ai*, etc.). Here there was no preposition, so the component parts were permitted to stand together. With *por*, this closeness of relation is vastly weakened, yet there is a certain sense of unity to be felt between verb and infinitive. Only about ten verbs are included in this group, none of them very common with *por*-infinitive in the early language, but having when so used a shade of meaning (*will* or *purpose*) that cannot be found in their more frequent *de-* or *a*-locutions (*cobdiciando casar*, Cron 454a18; *andauan cobdiçiando por auer la guardia del ninno*, Cron 669a19; *cobdiciaua de seer el solo sennor de tod ell imperio*, Cron 81a5; *cobdiçiaua mucho a ueer la su muerte*, Cron 429a2). As seen in these citations, the *de*-infinitive breaks the absolute object relation less than the infinitive with either *a* or *por* (cf. the antiquated and vulgar *he hoped for to go*).

aguisar.

The *de*-infinitive occurs with *aguisado*. The transitive and reflexive forms are noted with *pora*.

Estaua aguisando por entrar en carrera *Alix* 1623

catar.

This is one of the more natural of the *por*-locutions (cf. English *to look for*). The pure infinitive occurs once, but in sense like *ver*, etc. The similarity in construction of the *por*-infinitive with *al* is to be noted in the first citation below.

non cato por al sinon por aguijar el cauallo *Cron* 404a36
catando por librar a su sennor *Cron* 670b30
cataron por contender en matar los enemigos *Cron* 704a19

cobdiçiar.

The pure, *a*- and *de*-infinitives are also noted with *cobdiçiar* (cf. English *to wish for*).

andauan cobdiçiando por auer la guardia del ninno *Cron* 669a19

dexar.

With the *por*-infinitive *dexar* has the sense of *to leave off*, hence *to cease*, *to fail to*, the same as with the *de*- and *a*-infinitives, as contrasted with its pure infinitive use of *to leave* in the sense of *to allow* (cf. the English vulgarism *leave him do it*).

plogo a Dios que non dexassen por enssayar el castiello, maguer que semeiaua grieue de combater *Cron* 695b27

endurar.

This verb approximates the sense of *sufrir*. No other infinitive use is noted.

Mas el non enduro por y gelo lleuar *Alix* 202

pedir.

Like *catar*, *pedir* would seem a natural member of this class (cf. English *to ask for*, etc.), though the only example at hand has both noun object and *por*-infinitive taking that object as subject:

piden sus fijas a mio Çid el Campeador,
por seer reínas de Navarra e de Aragón *Cid* 3399

pensar.

This verb takes the infinitive with *a* and *de*, as well as without preposition, but the *de*-construction is alone frequent.

penso por yr a Libia *Alix* 1148

poner.

The *de*-infinitive is more common than the *por*-construction with *poner*. *En*-and *a*-infinitives also occur, but not with objective function. The contrast in *por*-infinitives in this case is interesting:

han puesto por matarlo, por aver los onores *Alix* 1709

yurar (j-).

The *de*-infinitive is found more currently with this verb.

los nuestros enemigos yurado an por tener con la nemiga et desapoderar a nos *Cron* 74a5
anbos son sobre ti por matarte jurados *Alix* 1669

POR-INFINITIVE WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS (OBJECT PRESENT)

50. This class includes such verbs as *adobar*, *aguisar* and *combidar*, which generally take a noun or pronoun object as well as the *por*-infinitive. They are entirely normal in their construction, as can be seen from the predominance of the sense of *purpose* in the *por*. The difference between this group and the last one discussed (*por*-infinitive as object) can be seen by comparing instances with and without noun or pronoun object: *Estaua aguisando por entrar en carrera*, Alix 1623; *Aguisaron el cuerpo . . . Por darli sepultura*, SMill 312. The most striking illustration is found in *dexar* (with pronoun object present, the *por*-infinitive clearly expresses *purpose*, while without such object and with *por*, *a* or *de*, the locution means *to cease*, etc.): *dexol por enterrar*, Cron 674b14; . . . *que non dexassen por ensayar el castiello, maguer que semeiaua grieue de combater*, Cron 695b27. Although the cases below easily become clear instances of clausal dependence, there is felt to be a greater attraction exerted by the main verb for

the *por*-infinitive than would be found in ordinary dependence of the infinitive on a clause.

adobar.

The infinitive with *de* also appears with the transitive *adobar*. The reflexive likewise takes *por*-infinitive (*estos se adoban por ir con el Campeador*, Cid 1997).

adobaua poderes e misiones por venir al canpo *Alix* 2124

aguisar.

Pora-infinitive is also found with the transitive *aguisar*, and with the reflexive *aguisarse*.

agujsaron su cosa por fer su romeria *SDom* 407

Aguisaron el cuerpo . . . Por darli sepultura e ferli proçession *SMill* 312

. . . como aguisarie poyo . . . por veyer todo el mundo *Alix* 2460

combidar.

Combidara los iustos Dios por regnar consigo *Loor* 175

dexar.

The infinitive is here susceptible of a passive sense; cf. discussion at head of this chapter, and *dexar*, §49.

dexol por enterrar *Cron* 674b14

enbiar (enu-).

The pure and *a*-infinitives are much more frequent with *enbiar*. The infinitive also occurs sporadically with *pora*, as with *por*, emphasizing the element of *purpose*.

Enbionos . . . por descobrir las cosas que jazen sofondidas *Alix* 2269

enuio luego tres caualleros . . . por barruntar que poder tenie *Cron* 26a5

escoger.

De-infinitive is also used with *escoger*, but clearly as an object infinitive (*escogieron de perder antes la franqueza que no la uida*, Cron 228a37).

a mi non escogiera por fer su vxor *Alix* 350

judgar.

The *de*-infinitive is also used with *judgar.*

fue judgando el omne por morir e lazrar *Alix* 2515

meter.

This verb forms a number of interesting noun locutions with *por*-infinitive, as well as similar constructions with the prepositions *de* and *en* (*En buscarli serviçio methie toda femençia,* Mil 50; *metie en complirlo toda su voluntad,* SDom 263; *leuaua en coraçon de matar all yerno,* Cron 181a52; . . . *que uos meta en coraçon de sacarle ende,* Cron 355a20). *Purpose* shaded with *goal* is felt in *por,* as contrasted with the *objective de*-construction and the purely *goal* function of *en.*

meter corazon:

Por fer toda nemiga metien los corazones *SMill* 221

meter estudio:

Metien bien so estudio por mucho li onrar *SMill* 307

meter poder:

por defender su rey todo poder metieron *Alix* 2219

meter voluntad:

por saluar señor tan grant voluntad miso *Alix* 1678

prometer (voto).

The *de*-object occurs most often with *prometer.*

por partirme del mundo voto e prometido *SMill* 16

THE POR-INFINITIVE WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS OF MOTION

51. The reflexives following this group, and these intransitive verbs of motion, form the two largest classes of *por*-infinitive taking verbs. The intransitives are among the verbs most frequently employed by the language, while the reflexives are used rather sporadically as individual verbs. The *por*-infinitive defines the *purpose* of an action more clearly than the pure infinitive or that with *a,* and rather less clearly than that with *pora* and *para,* inasmuch as these last combine the vir-

tues of both *por* and *a* (*reçebir los sale*, Cid 297; *saliolos a recebir*, Cron 342b47; *andaua por casar con ella*, Cron 647a23; *salio . . . pora yr degollar el carnero*, Cron 504a51; *sedien para oyr la toda la gent quedada*, SDom 566). Of these five possible methods of expressing the closely merged relations of *goal* and *purpose*, the weaker pure and *a*-infinitives recur very much more frequently than the others. The *para*-infinitive did not develop to any great extent until somewhat later in the language. While *pora* was reserved for the *purpose* (including *goal*) sense only, *por* was more general and might express *concession*, *means*, *cause*, etc. *Morir*, *naçer* and *contender* are included in the list below, although they are not strictly verbs of motion, the first two designating a change of condition and the third implying motion only by its connotation.

The *por*-infinitive frequently depends on a *goal*-clause, the main verb of which expresses motion. Such cases may closely resemble the regular construction with these verbs (see §53, §62 and §66 for *por-* and *pora*-infinitive in clausal dependence):

yre y . . . por complir uuestra uoluntad *Cron* 435a12
yas mueven adelant por a mio Cid . . . a manos los tomar *Cid* 701

andar.

Emphasis is indicated in *andar* by its appearance only once with *a*, and not at all with pure infinitive, as against six cases with *por*. This is the converse of the usual situation with verbs of motion (e.g. *yr*). *En*-infinitive occurs, but with the *place* element of *en* conspicuous (*yo ando en seruicio de Dios et en uengar el mal*, Cron 564a33). In *Paris andaua muerto por a Etor vengar*, Alix 705, *andaua* acts as auxiliary to *muerto*, there being then no special dependence of the infinitive on *andaua*.

andaua por casar con ella *Cron* 647a23
Andaua por mouerlas *Alix* 236
anda por lo fer *Alix* 683
El diablo andaba por ferse del seguro *Loor* 46
Andas por confonder toda christiandat *SLaur* 43
. . . anda por la fe guerrear,
Quiere fer los christianos a Christo denegar *SLaur* 29

contender.

Infinitive constructions with *de*, *pora* and *en* are also noted with *contender*. This is in keeping with the unsettled prepositional habits of verbs of *striving* in general (e.g. *punnar*, *trabaiar*).

contendie . . . por fer matar a Etor *Alix* 662
Contendia por levarlos todos a meioria *SMill* 96
Contendie el bon omne . . . Por fincar los inoios *Mil* 489

correr.

No other infinitive construction is noted with *correr*.

corrien por çevarse *Alix* 2466

endereçar.

The infinitives with *a* and *pora* are also used with *endereçar*.

endereço por darle del pendon señalado *Alix* 465

yr.

This verb is frequent in all the infinitive constructions associated with verbs of motion (except the *de* of *separation*): *a*, *por*, *pora*, *para*, and without preposition. The less emphatic constructions occur most often in the poetry (the infinitive being pure or with *a*), while the few available instances of the *por*-infinitive definitely dependent on *yr* come largely from the *Crónica*. French well illustrates the use of the pure infinitive with its equivalent of *yr*, expressing the *goal* (or very weak *purpose*) of the action (*je vais le voir*). The *inceptive* sense of *yr* with pure infinitive is seen to be intensified by the use of *yr* directly with *por*-infinitive (*Fue por darle con ella*, Alix 470; *fue por besar la mano al rey*, Cron 419b46; *fueron abrazarla*, SOria 60). The *por*-infinitive is more often dependent on an *yr*-clause than on *yr* alone: *Yban al omne bueno por con el se morar*, SMill 253; *eran ydos al palacio por oyr aquellas nueuas*, Cron 603a23: also Cid 3081; SDom 360; Alix 1697, 2493; Cron 422a25, 435a12.

yua por dar della a Munno Salido *Cron* 437b30
fue por ferirle con ella *Cron* 447b43
yua por passar a Siria *Cron* 544a5

exir, issir.

There is more often dependence of the *por*-infinitive on an *exir* clause than on *exir* alone: *querrie del castiello fuera seer exido, Por tornar a los montes*, SMill 23: also *Alix* 321, 653, 735; *SDom* 455, 764.

yxiera . . . por saber . . . *Alix* 602
Yssieron los de dentro por con ellos lidiar *SMill* 291
exio . . . por guerrear aMoros, entrar en caualgada *SDom* 700

morir.

Emphasis is natural to *morir*, so that it is not surprising to find the *por*-infinitive used where other weaker infinitive constructions are lacking. The popular English construction *he is dying for* (*a*) *drink* is more or less paralleled in the first citation below.

semeias al itropico que muere por beuer,
quanto mas va beuiendo el mas puede arder *Alix* 1903
muere por ganar al *Alix* 2297
murie por ser martir, prender por Dios passion *SLaur* 23

naçer.

Cf. *morir* above.

por salvar el mundo naçio *SMill* 223

puiar.

The *a*-infinitive also occurs. This verb is a good illustration of close dependence of the *por*-infinitive on the verb of motion.

tanto puio la su nemiga por ayuntar et acrescentar en si mas de lixo *Cron* 304b10

venir (u-).

The pure infinitive and the constructions with *a*, *de* and *pora* are also used with *venir*. About one half of the available examples of *por*-infinitive come from the *Crónica*. The prepositional constructions, here as elsewhere, recur more often in the prose than in the poetry. The *Cid*, for example, gives only

one single instance of *venir* with *por*, while the later texts affect the locution with greater frequency. As was true of *yr*, the *por*-infinitive is more often dependent on a *venir* clause than on *venir* alone: *vin a ti por seguir tu mandado*, Mil 729: also *SMill* 483; *Mil* 137, 729; *SDom* 476; *Alix* 680; *Cron* 360b8, 447b27, 533a21, 548b40, 602b25, 616b48, 642a45.

Si viéredes yentes venir por connusco ir *Cid* 388
Venie . . . por con ellos iogar *Mil* 355
por uelar al sepulcro ujno muy grant yente *SDom* 565
ambos bienen, bien sepas, por amj guerrear *SDom* 695
fue venido por las armas prender *Alix* 119
era venido por Alixandre matar *Alix* 1107
vinie por acorrerles *Alix* 1356

Also: *Cron* 28b20, 35a18, 570b20, 596a23, 640a2.

POR-INFINITIVE WITH REFLEXIVE VERBS

52. The reflexives form a well-recognized group with each of the prepositions expressing *purpose* (and *goal*), though none of the verbs cited below for the *por*-infinitive occur frequently in this use. There is found to be a closer relation of these verbs with the *pora*-group than with those taking the *a*-infinitive. In general the *a*-construction was too weak in its expression of *purpose* to satisfy the needs of these particular verbs, while *pora* was even stronger than *por* in this desired element (combining with *por* the *goal* function of *a*). *Guisarse* (cf. of the same type *adobarse* and *armarse*) undoubtedly illustrates best the kind of verb appearing currently in infinitive constructions having *por*, *pora* and *para*, but not at all in *a*-constructions (*guisosse por yr a ueella*, Cron 38b19; *guisosse pora yr a Carthago*, Cron 25b15; *guisandose para venir*, Cron 355a43). *Motion* is actual or implied in *abaxarse*, *ajuntarse*, *juntarse* and *leuantarse*, while distantly related to this type are *escalentarse* and *trabaiarse*. The reflexives readily lend themselves to clausal dependence in the *por*-infinitive: *alçose a la sierra por mas saluo estar*, Alix 2076.

abaxarse.

abaxosse por besarle los pies *Cron* 531a36

acordarse.

Infinitive constructions with *a*, *de* and *en* are also found with *acordarse*.

Acordose el rey . . . por yr a Babiloña *Alix* 1438
Acordaron se todos . . . por reçebir al rey *Alix* 2481

adobarse.

No other infinitive constructions are at hand for *adobarse*, but the transitive *adobar* takes particularly the *de*-infinitive.

pensaua en qual guisa se podrie meior adobar por fazer en aquellos . . . que siempre ende fablassen *Cron* 286a32

aluoroçarse.

. . . que se le no aluoroço yente ninguna por leuantar guerra *Cron* 108a49

armarse.

armosse . . . por yr dar fazienda a los moros *Cron* 426b5

ayuntarse (aj-).

The *a-* and *pora*-infinitives also occur. With *ayuntar*, *pora*-infinitive is found. *Fazer duelo* is noted in both cases below.

quierense ajuntar por fazer grant duelo *Cron* 576b11
se querien ayuntar por fazer duelo *Cron* 577b4

escalentarse.

por serujr aDon Christo mas se escalentaua *SDom* 249

guisarse.

Infinitive constructions with *de*, *pora* and *para* also appear with *guisarse;* cf. discussion at head of chapter.

guisosse por yr a ueerla *Cron* 38b19
en guisarse por yr *Cron* 102a2
guisosse por passar *Cron* 102b1
se guiso Alarico . . . por yr ganar las Francias *Cron* 208b18

juntarse.

muchos se juntaron de buenos ricos omnes por veer esta lid *Cid* 3546

leuantarse.

The pure infinitive and that with *de*, *a*, and *pora* are also used with *leuantarse*.

leuantosse por yr su uia *Cron* 146a36

trabaiarse.

This verb appears more often with the pure, *de-* and *en*-infinitives. When with *por*, there is a definite purpose expressed.

Erodes bien se quiso affirmes trabaiar
Por al rey mançebo la vida destaiar *Duelo* 199
se trabaiaba mucho por deffender la nuestra fe *Cron* 154b35

The por-Infinitive Depends on a Clause

53. Because of the strength of *por*, *pora* and *para* in the expression of *purpose*, the infinitive with these prepositions is better suited to dependence on a clause than is either the *a*-infinitive or that without preposition. The dependence of the *por*-infinitive at times is so slight that the more pronounced instances may for convenience be termed "independent *por*-clauses of purpose." The construction of the sentence is usually loose, and the *por*-clause may have even greater prominence than the clause it is presumed to depend on (*Por ferlis bien creençia, por seer bien creido, Disso que a los XXX dias serie transido*, Mil 266; *Por ganar la Gloriosa que él mucho amaba, Partielo con los pobres todo quanto ganaba*, Mil 133).

In *Io so aqui venida por levarte comigo*, Mil 137, the locative adverb *aqui* puts the *por*-infinitive in the category of dependence on a *goal*-clause, since there is only a question of degree and definiteness between this and such instances as *vin a ti por seguir tu mandado*, Mil 729; *torna a diestro por la missa acabar*, Sac 53; *Entraron a Pilato por conseio tomar*, Duelo 166. An even more inconspicuous type than that with

the adverbs of *place* is at hand in *querien . . . llegarsele por dezirle alguna cosa*, Cron 449b50, where the *le* of *llegarsele* completes the *goal*-clause quite as effectively as *a los montes* in *Entresti a los montes por a mi guerrear*, SMill 114. Very often the *por*-infinitive satisfies the needs of both the individual verb and the clause as well: *enuiaua alla Yalia a aquel su privado por saber . . .* Cron 548a39; *Contendie el buen omne, queriesse levantar, Por fincar los inoios, los piedes li besar*, Mil 489. From time to time a notable difference will be found between construction of the *por*-infinitive with the individual verb and with the clause: e.g. the introduction of *al conde* breaks the *inceptive* sense of *ir* with dependent *por*-infinitive (*fue por besar la mano al rey*, Cron 603a23) in *fue al conde por pagarle ell auer*, Cron 422a25; the use of *el cuerpo* as object prevents the *por*-infinitive from itself replacing the object in *Aquisaron el cuerpo del preçioso varon, Por darli sepultura e ferli proçession*, SMill 312. There is usually no difficulty in sense, however, whether the *por*-infinitive depends on the verb or on the clause: *Si viéredes yentes venir por connusco ir*, Cid 388; *vinieron a estas bodas por onrrar el Çid*, Cron 602b25. The *por*-infinitive sometimes depends on a well-known verb and noun locution, as in *por meter se en armas ningunt vagar non se dieron*, Alix 586 (*darse vagar*); *Boluio con el guerra por non seyer reptado*, Alix 157 (*volver guerra*).

por ir con estas dueñas buena conpaña se faze *Cid* 1421

El rey dioles fideles por dezir el derecho *Cid* 3593

por veyer mas alexos tolliense los sonbreros *Alix* 252

Sosaco Vlixes vna grant maestria por saber sy . . . *Alix* 397

por fazer olocaustos, matauan los ganados *Alix* 458

echo de cuer la lança por a Ajas matar *Alix* 492

por pagar los santos todos cantauan lixirios *Alix* 552

Fue a prender el canto . . . por aquedar a Ajas *Alix* 571

por vengarse de la yra oluido piedat *Alix* 696

firieron se las diestras por seyer mas leales *Alix* 577

guardasselo de yerro e de mortal sofismo,
por non perder el pacto *SDom* 78

Por exaltar su fama, el su preçio creçer,
Derramaba sin duelo quanto podie aver *Mil* 628

por espantar la dueña, que oujesse pabura,
faziali malos gestos, mucha mala figura *SDom* 327

por vengar su despecho o por presçio ganar,
sufrieron tal lazerio qual oyestes contar *Alix* 750

Fue buscar al diablo sabidor e artero,
Por cobrar un officio *Mil* 840

Las estrellas . . . por el dia tardar, andauan a pereça *Alix* 2567

dexose caer de la cama por besar los pies al apostol *Cron* 634a6

Deçendio al Infierno por rrecabdar su mandado *Alix* 2403

deçendio por a Yndia . . . por entender de Dario sy era alli tornado *Alix* 1620

endereço a el por le ferir *Cron* 606b16

por comer a solas entran en los çilleros *Alex* 2363

Desent tornar al nuevo, por en çierto andar *Sac* 2

salio a ellos . . . por uedargelo *Cron* 554a45

passa aquent mar por me toller esta çibdat *Cron* 633b12

pasara de allen mar por mandar el Andalozia *Cron* 740a46

yre y . . . por complir uuestra uoluntad *Cron* 435a12

Also: *Cid* 701; *Alix* 705, 831, 1351, 1554, 1697, 1705, 2493; *Sac* 30, 53; *SDom* 173, 360; *SMill* 244; *Cron* 471a38, 558b21, 585b38, 633a37, 759a49, etc.

The por-Infinitive Indicates Futurity

54. Menéndez Pidal says of this construction:[1] "La preposición *por*, con los verbos *ser* ó *auer*, expresa la falta de realización de la acción del infinitivo regido." In illustration of this principle he cites *tres [días] an por troçir*, Cid 307. This is

[1] *Cid*, § 161, 4.

not as representative a citation as might be desired, since the *por* may well be fulfilling here its ordinary function of *purpose*, and there is no reason why a *purpose* clause should be limited in time. A better example, cited in the same paragraph as that above, is *ninguno sodes por pagar*, where *por pagar* would clearly indicate the unfulfilment of the action were it not for the negative sense of *ninguno*. The *por*-infinitive, then, may mark the action of the infinitive as belonging to the future, and with little or no reference as to the actual accomplishment of that action. Even in the cases when the future is indicated as *immediate* (when *por* means *on the point of, about to*) there is nothing to show that the action will be completed (*estauan todos por perder se*, Cron 76a10).

This class includes such verbs as *auer, estar, ser, fincar*, and *yazer*, the latter two of which have not been generally recognized along with the first three in this use. Even with these verbs that take the *por*-infinitive to express the incompletion of the action of the infinitive, there is a decided trace of the fundamental function of *purpose* in *por* (*tres [días] an por troçir*, Cid 307). Likewise in *por casar son vuestras fijas*, Cid 1650, a certain degree of *purpose* can be felt along with the simple *futurity* of *por casar*. In *Cid* 3283 there is an idiomatic use of *auer* with *por*-infinitive that is approximately equal to *auer que* with infinitive, according to Menéndez Pidal:[1] *¿Qué avedes vos, comde, por retraer la mi barba?* Other illustrations of *auer* with *por*-infinitive follow (in each instance the infinitive is *far*):

non fuera menester que lo ouiese por far *Alix* 118
querria lo que fiziera Tebas auer por far *Alix* 213

estar.

Meyer-Lübke notes[2] that *stare* and *essere per* (in Spanish and Portuguese *ser* and *estar* with *por* and *para*) indicate an action as *on the point of* being accomplished. He does not remark on that kindred sense of *por* with these verbs, noted

[1] *Cid*, § 161, 4. [2] *Gram.* III, § 330.

by Menéndez Pidal and called *falta de realización*. There may not be a great difference between these two senses, yet a distinction doubtless exists. While mentioning the Spanish equivalents of *stare* and *essere* that have this particular future meaning, Meyer-Lübke mentions *estar* with *por* and *para* but says nothing of *ser* with these infinitive constructions. Diez[1] points out that *ser* with *por*-infinitive indicates *possibility*. At least it indicates a more indefinite *futurity* than *estar* with *por*, as can be noted by contrasting *li estaba por exir la almiella*, SMill 343, with *lo que es por venir*, Alix 1792, and *al que es por nascer*, Cron 513b17. The sense of the *por*-infinitive with *estar* is not entirely consistent, however, as is seen by comparing *querrie mas seyer muerto o estar por nasçer*, Alix 1396, and *estaua aun por descabesçar*, Cron 441a24, with *estauan todos por perder se*, Cron 76a10. In the *Crónica* occur two cases with no indication of *immediate futurity: estauan y los cuerpos de los omnes muertos por soterrar*, Cron 133b35, and *tanto tiempo estido daquella guisa por enterrar*, Cron 674b21. In these instances, the *por*-infinitive indicates a *falta de realización* as well as a shade of *purpose*.

fincar.

Fincar is unmentioned by Menéndez Pidal as a member of this group, because there are evidently no examples available in the *Cid*. The *Crónica* offers, however, several well defined instances of the same type of construction as that discussed above under *estar*. The difference between *estar* and *fincar* was merely that *fincar* in general indicated greater duration of time than *estar* when used with the *por*-infinitive (*to remain, to be yet to do*).

. . . quel no finco sino muy poco por cercar *Cron* 103b41
las cosas que fincauan por quemar *Cron* 125a39
el tiempo que fincaua por passar *Cron* 131a4
finco este pleyto por judgar *Cron* 518b19
fincaua el rey don Alffonso por casar *Cron* 553a5
finco donna Dulçe donzella por casar *Cron* 652a3

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 233.

In the last citation above, the *por*-infinitive depends on the noun acting as predicate rather than on the verb *finco*, thus making an entity of the phrase *donzella por casar* (*marriageable girl*). It also occurs in *era estonces donzella por casar*, Cron 170b21.

yazer.

In the one instance with *yazer*, the *por*-infinitive again indicates the near accomplishment of the action.

yazie por morirse ya *Cron* 717b13

ser.

Diez considers *ser* to indicate *possibility* when used with *por*-infinitive, as opposed to the sense of *estar por*, cited above as meaning *to be on the point of*.[1] This is seen in the sentences below, where the futurity is not "precised." The underlying sense of purpose is frequently to be felt also. The *Alixandre* and the *Crónica* yield practically all the available examples.

mas valdrie la cosa que fues por enpeçar *Alix* 714
valdrieles mucho mas que fuesen por naçer *Alix* 753
eran por llegar *Alix* 1416
lo que es por venir *Alix* 1792; *Cron* 95a51
valdria mas que fues muerto o fues por naçer *Alix* 71, 2363
Tu fuyes de las cosas fechas e demandas las que son por fazer *Cron* 40a18
o si eran aun por conquerir *Cron* 66b10
Por casar son uuestras fijas *Cid* 1650
era aun por casar *Cron* 469b24
era estonçes donzella por casar *Cron* 710b21

In the last citation above, *por casar* depends rather on *donzella* than on *era* (see *fincar* above).

The Independent por-Infinitive

55. This independent construction of the *por*-infinitive probably grew out of the frequent use of *por* with *auer* and *ser* to indicate the possible future accomplishment of an action, as discussed in the last section (e.g. *lo que es por venir*, Alix

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 223.

1792; *tres* [*días*] *an por troçir*, Cid 307). Exactly the same type of *futurity* is found in the so-called *independent por*-infinitive as in that dependent on *ser*. The immediacy of the future action, as expressed by *estar*, *yazer* and the like, is almost never implied in the independent *por*-infinitive, rather the indefinite futurity usual in the *ser* locutions. In fact, sometimes the very same expressions are found, with or without *ser*. A good illustration of this point is at hand in *SMill* 477 (*villas* understood):

> Granadas e menudas, por poblar e pobladas
> Fueron en dar en esto todas pronunçiadas

In this instance, *por poblar e pobladas* evidently acts as the subject of *fueron*, while in *SMill* 464 the same *por*-infinitive depends on *eran:*

> Las que por poblar eran tan bien com las pobladas

The *por*-infinitives occurring with and without auxiliary are *por casar*, *por venir*, *por poblar* and *por pagar*. It will be remarked as one of the most important facts in this connection that most often within one and the same phrase a contrast will be made between the past and the future by means of the past participle and the *por*-infinitive: *por casar e casado, por domar e domado, por poblar e poblado.*

Por casar is noted as follows:

> era cosa desapuesta . . . ueuir desordenado et por casar *Cron* 718a37
> Darte yo casamiento, muger qual tu quisieres,
> por casar o casada *Alix* 370
> por casar e casados *SMill* 204

In three cases *por domar* is noted in this independent use:

> yentes brauas et por domar *Cron* 159a40
> las aues e las bestias por domar e domadas *Alix* 639
> las bestias por domar e domadas *Sig* 9

The first citation below is particularly interesting by reason of the contrast in tenses which it presents, *por venir* standing for the future of *ser* (later *por venir* is used as a single word to mean the *future*):

metran toda su fuerça en dios bendezir,
al que fue et al que es, al que por venir *Alix* 2315
los por venir *Sac* 269

A rare example of *por destenprar* occurs in *Alix* 1521:

vnas por destenprar, otras destenpradas

The most striking example of the *independent por*-infinitive occurs at the beginning of a sentence in *Cron* 487a45, where even without *estar* the future action of the infinitive is marked as immediate (cf. first paragraph, this section).

. . . fasta que ouieron crebantado el muro de la çibdad. Et ellos por entrarla, llegaron los moros . . .

The special use of this *independent por*-infinitive in *por andar* deserves attention. It is limited to the *Crónica*, but occurs frequently in this text. Always found in connection with the name of a month, it serves to indicate the number of days remaining in that month (*Et fue esto dos dias ante de las calendas de setiembre, esto es, dos dias por andar del mes de agosto*, Cron 667b45).

cinco dias por andar del mes de junio *Cron* 202a33
catorze dias por andar del mes de ochubre *Cron* 214b4
ocho dias por andar de junio *Cron* 108b4
diez dias por andar del mes de nouiembre *Cron* 163a53
ocho dias por andar de março *Cron* 108b10
ocho dias por andar del mes de deziembre *Cron* 108b16
dos dias por andar del mes de ochubre *Cron* 163a46
XV dias por andar del mes de julio *Cron* 681b22
XII dias por andar del mes de yunno *Cron* 694b43
dos dias por andar de março *Cron* 317a2
XV dias por andar del mes de deziembre *Cron* 540a25
ocho dias por andar del mes de Março *Cron* 545b7
X dias por andar del mes de setiembre *Cron* 708a22

The por-Infinitive Indicates Cause

56. The *por*-infinitive indicating the *cause* of an action is generally found to depend on a whole clause rather than on a

single verb, since the *por*-infinitive takes the place of a subordinate clause having an inflected verb form. Certain verbs do, however, lend themselves most readily to the *causal* relation in the dependent infinitive (e.g. *se preciauan por alançar*, Cron 431b31, 520b5). This construction is shown to be frequent in the Portuguese examined by Otto, though *por* in other infinitive constructions is not as often employed, nor its uses as varied, in the Portuguese of Camões as in the Spanish of Berceo. It will be remembered that *por* is the only preposition of the *por-pora-para* group that can indicate *cause*, and that these others only fulfil the functions of *goal* and *purpose*. The most important of the texts in verse offer examples of this use, but a considerable majority of instances come from the *Crónica*, where the *causal por* may be said to be one of the regular constructions. The problem of definitively judging examples is at times encountered here because of the possibility of taking a given *por*-infinitive as expressing either *purpose* or *cause* without doing violence to the context in either case. It becomes simple, however, when the *causal por*-infinitive has a subject, as in *por seer oy la cibdat . . . tan grand*, Cron 42b28. At times there is remarked an approach to the subject-infinitive relation, with slight emphasis on the *causal* element: *me pesa por errar tan mal . . . mis vassallos*, Cron 612b37.

En la ondra que él ha nos seremos abiltados;
por tan biltadamientre vençer reyes del campo *Cid* 1863

abrá y ondra e creçrá en onor,
por conssagrar con iffantes de Carrión *Cid* 1907

sobre todos i es el rey don Alfons
por querer el derecho e ningún tuerto non *Cid* 3549

touo se por errado por tal omne como este seer tan apartado *SDom* 114

que si se leuantasse, que serie mal maiado,
o por escarmentar otros seria descabeçado *SDom* 711

quien vio nunca rrencuras tan dobladas
por todas nuestras cosas seyer tan anebladas *Alix* 738

grant presçio nos acaesçe por valer a tan grand enemiga *Alix* 1710

et del danno que uino en ella por partir los regnos *Cron* 4b13

por tres cosas fueron los romanos sennores de toda la tierra: la primera por saber, la segunda por seer bien acabdellados, la tercera por suffrencia *Cron* 18b7

loado por mantener bien la fe *Cron* 158b46

era aquel puerto tenido por el meior de toda Affrica, por estar y nauios en todo tiempo *Cron* 48b19

non tienes que la fe y el omenaie que tu quebrantest que te terna danno alli por non te querer Dios ayudar *Cron* 40b45

assi auie grant arteria con ella por saber guisar de fazer mal *Cron* 140b22

. . . que pierdan el nuestro amor por non querer seer cristianos *Cron* 186a9

. . . alçado por rey et non por emperador por se no egualar a su padre *Cron* 195b50

cayera muchas uezes por tremer la tierra *Cron* 203a37

alçosse con toda Affrica por cuidar que la podrie auer por suya *Cron* 204a45

por cuidar que . . . *Cron* 110a12, 207b33

. . nin valiese menos por andar en agenos desconuenientes ayuntamientos de mugeres *Cron* 735b2

esto non era por al si non por seer creyda de la palabra de la grand sibilla *Cron* 260a35

sennor, por non yr contigo los de Cordoua non des nada por ende *Cron* 456a48

por que . . . non cayesse en algun periglo por non seer y su pastor *Cron* 544a32

aprendemos que por tu matar aquestos sabios, otros aura y luego *Cron* 124a44

ouo el amor de Gayo por saber bien guiar las carretas *Cron* 130b20

The por-Infinitive Indicates Means

57. Diez recognizes this use of the Romance infinitive with prepositions derived from *per*.[1] He gives examples for the French and Italian, but none for the Spanish. Meyer-Lübke mentions the construction as a restricted use of Latin *per*-instrumental,[2] nor does he specially cite any instances for Spanish. There was evidently a fusion of functions in Spanish so that the *por*-infinitive, not originally *per*, took on this *per*-instrumental use, while *para*, really from *per*, lost it. The construction is so closely allied to the more frequent *causal por*-infinitive that it is only natural for *por* to have occasionally assumed an *instrumental* force. In fact, the rendition of a given *de-* or *por*-infinitive with *instrumental* rather than *causal* value is necessitated largely by the use of special verbs or phrases in the context (e.g. *ganar* used in three of the eight cases below).

sy omne non gana prez por dezir o por fer *Alix* 71

sy non ganare presçio por ganar o por fer . . . *Alix* 753

era la gent movida Por veer esti Lazaro dado de muert a vida *Mil* 216

puso en so coraçon que de quanto y pudiese ganar por amor o por abenencia, que lo no leuasse por guerras nin lides nin muertes ni por esparzer sangre *Cron* 69b40

en fincar esta lid por prometer o por dar, tengo yo que esto serie lo meior *Cron* 392b9

en ganar nos treguas de los moros por pecharles algo *Cron* 392b32

non se deue uencer nin por miedo . . . nin por dar nin prometer *Cron* 419b13

ca por llorar tu mucho por tus fijos non los podras nunqua cobrar por ende *Cron* 442a38

The por-Infinitive Has a Concessive Sense

58. No mention of this use of the *por*-infinitive is found in Diez, Meyer-Lübke or Menéndez Pidal, yet it is a very real sense in the few instances from the *Crónica* noted below. In two of the three citations, *aun* will be noted in the phrase *aun*

[1] *Gram.* IV, p. 177. [2] *Gram.* III, p. 524.

por seer uençudos, without doubt considerably enforcing the idea of *concession* that could be read into the *por*-infinitive.

> Ca esto que uos queredes aun por seer uençudos, lo que Dios no quiera, podedes lo fazer en el cabo *Cron* 73b20
>
> sera cosa guisada de no caer uos en culpa faziendo como deuedes, mas esperar perdon et gualardon aun por seer uençudos *Cron* 74a20
>
> era la mas noble et mas onrrada uilla de tiempo antigo por seer pequenna mas que otra cibdad que fuesse en toda Asia *Cron* 324a10

THE INFINITIVE WITH PORA

59. The origin of the *pora*-infinitive was evidently in the frequent use of *por* and *a* together, *por* alone not being definite enough to indicate the intended relation between the infinitive and the verb or clause on which it depended. The function of *a* was predominantly *goal*, while that of *por* was *purpose*. If the two were put together there was effected a very useful combination which fitted more accurately into the sense of numerous phrases than either preposition alone. The combination was not limited to taking the infinitive, but was allowed to govern a direct or indirect object. Menéndez Pidal[1] states it thus: "En vez de *por* para expresar el fin, se usa *pora* cuando es necessaria la preposición *a* que rija un complemento: *pora myo Çid e alos sos a manos los tomar*, Cid 701." With *a* taking an indirect object, *pora* appears in *pora cristianos la dar*, Cid 1191, 892, 1616. In such cases, the separation into *por a* is quite evident. It was, in general of course, a matter of indifference to the scribes whether the two words were written *pora* or *por a*. As the use of the prepositions together increased, they came to be considered as a unit, and were employed where *a* no longer indicated the object relation mentioned by Menéndez Pidal above (*pora con ellos casar*, Cid 1882, 3449). The fact that it was a progressive construction is indicated by a comparison of the use of *pora*-infinitives in the

[1] *Cid*, § 161, 5.

Cid with those in the *Crónica*. The number of examples from the *Cid* is, indeed, almost negligible, while in the *Crónica* are found the great majority of the instances cited below. The *pora*-infinitive was permitted by the authors of the *Crónica* to usurp no small part of the legitimate territory of the construction with *por*. It could not, of course, encroach on those uses of *por* that had nothing to do with the original concept of *purpose* generally expressed by *por*. Thus the senses of *por* including *cause*, *means*, *concession*, etc. stood firm. As a rule, there is a notable difference between *por* and *pora* even when similarly governed, the ideas of *suitable to*, *such as to* (expressing a *characteristic*), being much more current in the *pora*-infinitive (see particularly its use with adjectives and nouns: *semeiaua . . . ninno aun pora gouernar el regno*, Cron 709a38; *tienpo pora casar*, Cron 601a43). Though rarely met in our texts outside of the *Crónica*, and not offering so varied a field as *por*, yet *pora* is a successful rival of *por* in its most common uses. It even surpasses *por* in one field, i.e. with adjectives such as *acucioso*, *bueno* and *conuiniente* (*sotil . . . pora aprender toda arte*, Cron 138a18; *buenas pora ganar . . . tierra*, Cron 22a3).

The pora-Infinitive with Nouns

60. As was also true of *por*, the class of *pora*-infinitives clearly dependent on nouns is small in comparison with other infinitive constructions with *pora*. It is limited to about five nouns, the only frequent one of which is *logar*. In these examples, the difference can be felt between the *pora*-construction and that with *por* in the same places (e.g. with *tiempo* in *Non es agora tiempo por en naves entrar*, SOria 159; *non son en tienpo pora casar*, Cron 601a43; it is not *time* now *to enter* boats; they are not at a *time suitable for marrying*).

bestia.

non fincara ya en la villa bestia pora caualgar *Cron* 586a29

edat.

quando la ninna fuesse de edat pora casar *Cron* 33a41

logar.

un logar pora lidiar *Cron* 148a15
no era Roma logar pora seer desamparada *Cron* . . .
alli era lugar pora dezirse . . . *Cron* 625b22
logares pora lidiar *Cron* 695b10

ninno.

semeiaua . . . ninno aun pora gouernar el regno *Cron* 709a38

The pora-Infinitive with Adjectives

61. With the exception of a few sporadic occurrences in the *Alixandre* and a doubtful one in the *Cid* (*buenos e valientes pora mio Çid huyar*, Cid 892, where the *a* of *pora* may well be the personal accusative sign), available instances of *pora*-infinitive with adjectives all come from the *Crónica*. Poetry in general affected the *por*-construction. The total number of adjectives with *pora* is half again greater than with *por*, showing that at least the authors of the *Crónica* considered *pora* more appropriate for such use than *por*. It is also seen that they are more varied in sense, and are more generally representative of the whole group of adjectives than they were with *por* (pora: *acucioso, liuiano, noble, sabio, sano, sotil, tierno*, etc.; por: *tan, tal, sabroso, grande*, etc.). This is not surprising in view of the fact that the adjective regularly expresses a *characteristic*, and this is one of the uses most normal to the *pora*-infinitive as well (see § 59 above). The only individual adjectives found with both prepositions are *bueno, firme*, and *presto* (*pora morir e pora uencer firme estaua el*, Cron 702a8; *Ellos por alargarse, los otros por redrarlos, estauan todos firmes*, Alix 2054; *serien mas prestos pora en armas entrar*, Alix 1308; *estaua presto por los guardar sanos*, Cron 134a4).

Adjectives.

acucioso.

acucioso pora reçebir huespedes *Cron* 277a29
acuciosa pora enderençar el regno *Cron* 492a42

bueno (also takes infinitive constructions with *de, por* and *para*).

eran buenos pora ganar con ellos *Cron* 437b14
eran buenas pora ganar e deffender tierra *Cron* 22a3

conuiniente.

logar conuiniente pora enxerir aqui la estoria del regno de Portogal *Cron* 650a51

liuiano (noted also with *de*-infinitive).

pora trayer liuianas *Alix* 970

noble.

omne muy noble pora gouernar ell imperio *Cron* 172a45
fue muy noble de spirito pora dezir las cosas *Cron* 277a27

presto (the most frequent adjective taking the infinitive in the *por-pora-para* group).

serien mas prestos pora en armas entrar *Alix* 1308
presto era el otro pora luego lo conplir *Alix* 1977
parosse guisado et presto pora entrar en su camino *Cron* 530a29
estaua el presto pora fazer su confession *Cron* 662a44

sabio.

omne muy sabio pora gouernar ell imperio *Cron* 172a13

sano.

Son las aguas muy sanas por a bestias abeurar *Alix* 1447

seguro (noted also with *de*-infinitive).

buen puerto de mar et seguro pora estar y naues *Cron* 287a34

sesudo.

pora traer su fazienda bien, era muy sesudo *Cron* 629b20

sotil.

Era muy sotil . . . pora aprender toda arte *Cron* 138a18

tarde.

tarde es ya este tiempo pora perdonar *Cron* 136a40

tierno.

ell rey maguer que aun tierno pora seer fuerte . . . *Cron* 710b38

valiente (u-).

buenos e valientes pora mio Çid huyar *Cid* 892
et era mas ualiente que los mancebos pora lidiar *Cron* 132a2

uieio.

deuiera seer alçado por emperador, ca ell era uieio pora conseiar *Cron* 132a2

Participles.

Only about half as many past participles take the *pora*-infinitive as are noted with the *por*-infinitive. Probably this is due at least in part to the fact that past participles usually had a stronger verbal than adjectival force, and verbs in general affected the *por*-infinitive more often than that with *pora*. The usual prepositional functions for *a, por, pora, para* of *purpose* and *goal* are evident in the examples cited below (*eran dados pora disputar*, Cron 190a6; *uio los castellanos mouidos pora uencerse*, Cron 416a10). As with *por*, the verbs particularly well represented here are those indicating some sort of *preparedness* (*apareiado, aparellado, guarnido, guisado*, etc.), and those expressing *inclination, desire* and related emotions (*abiuado, dado, denodado, desesperado*, etc.).

adobado.

Ellos son adobados pora cumplir todo lo so *Cid* 3489

amolado.

todos por a feryr los estauan amolados *Alix* 956

ap(p)areiado (also takes infinitives with *por* and *de*).

appareiado pora morir *Cron* 277a37
apareiado pora foyr *Cron* 379b33
prestos et apareiados pora venir *Cron* 607b20

aparellado (see *apareiado* above).

todos por a seruirte somos aparellados *Alix* 1648

armado.

armados pora ayudar el Çid *Cron* 615a27

abiuado (also takes the infinitive with *por* and *en*).

fueron por a lidiar todos mas abiuados *Alix* 2031

dado.

The *a* component of *pora* can be clearly felt in the citation below (cf. English *given to disputing*):

eran dados pora disputar *Cron* 190a6

denodado (also used with *por*-infinitive).

por a lidiar la villa fue muy mas denodado *Alix* 1108
eran por a ferir todos tan denodados *Alix* 2028

desesperado (takes *de*-infinitive also). In this instance the *pora*-infinitive expresses *degree* rather than the usual *purpose:*

eran ya desesperados pora morir *Cron* 30b15

guarnido.

estaua mui bien guarnido . . . pora salir *Cron* 564a3

guisado (used with *de-* and *por*-infinitives as well).

guisado pora recebir la su fe *Cron* 103a23
no estauan apercebudos ni guisados pora deffenderse darmas *Cron* 49b2
muy guisadas . . . pora deffender los usos *Cron* 103b30
fueron guisados pora yr contra Vologeso *Cron* 153a47
omnes darmas guisados pora lidiar *Cron* 220a22

mouido (used also with the *por*-infinitive).

era pora tornarse toda la gente mouida *Alix* 410
uio los castellanos mouidos pora uencerse *Cron* 416a10
mouido pora yr en aquella cruzada *Cron* 544a3

parado.

somos parados pora morir *Cron* 701b52

soffrido (takes also the infinitive with *en*).

non era pacient nin soffrido pora oyr las razones *Cron* 387b24

The pora-Infinitive with Intransitive Verbs of Motion

62. This group is numerically much weaker than the corresponding group with *por*-infinitive both in verbs and in individual examples. As a class, although the verbs of motion are not found as often with the *pora-* as with the *por*-construction, when

so used the sense is more *precised* than with *por*. It is a notable fact that all but one of the examples cited below come from the *Crónica*, and the one exception is *yva pora senbrar*, Alix 2528. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that *pora* was most fitting for use with verbs of motion because of its indication of *goal* (its *-a* indicating direction *toward* something) while *por* could only express *purpose* with them. *Pora*-constructions developed, however, late in our period, thus largely explaining the favor enjoyed by them in the *Crónica* and their apparent lack of favor elsewhere.

Numerous instances of the *pora*-infinitive are found depending on a clause of *goal*, the main verb of which is a verb of motion. As indicated under the *por*-infinitive above (§ 53), such cases closely resemble the regular construction with these verbs:

entraran en ella pora defenderla *Cron* 365a27
descendiendo contra mar . . . pora fazer dalli caualgadas et guerrear la tierra *Cron* 534b45
llegaron alli . . . pora yrse con el *Cron* 524a47
fuesse contra Salamanca pora saber que fazie el rey *Cron* 373a19

caualgar.

The *a*-infinitive is also noted with *caualgar*.

Los infantes caualgaron estonces pora yr fazer aquello *Cron* 438a39
el caualgo luego et sus fijos pora yrse pora alla *Cron* 516b12
caualgo pora uenirse a la frontera *Cron* 541b4

contender.

Like other verbs of *striving* and *seeking* (*trabaiarse*, *buscar*, etc.) *contender* considerably varies its infinitive relations (i.e. with *de*, *por* and *en* as well as with *pora*).

comenzaron luego a contender pora auer la guardia del rey ninno *Cron* 709b5

enderesçar (-nç-).

The infinitives with *por* and *a* also occur.

enderesçaron pora yr a las vistas *Cron* 600a50
enderesçaron pora yr a las vistas *Cron* 600b9
enderençe pora yr a Valencia *Cron* 551b29

yr.

The combination of *goal* and *purpose* in the *para*-infinitive is well evidenced in the examples of this verb. The pure infinitive and that with *a*, *por* and *para* are likewise found with *yr*. The *para*-infinitive may depend on an *yr*-clause of *goal* rather than on *yr* alone (*yuan ellos a su palacio para fablar con ell*, Cron 463a38; and *Cron* 339b19, 465b47, 704a3.

fue otra uez para lidiar con ellos *Cron* 28a23
fue derechamientre para destroyr Galizia *Cron* 29a54
. . . que fuessen todos con la condessa para prouar sil podrien sacar *Cron* 420b18
ellos yendo ya para ayudarlos *Cron* 440a4

mouer.

As an intransitive, *mouer* also takes the infinitive pure and with *a*. The transitive *mouer* takes the pure and *a*-infinitives, the reflexive those with *a* and *para*.

quiso mouer para yr contra Espanna *Cron* 101b8

passar.

Infinitive constructions also occur with *a* and without preposition.

quisieron passar para andalla por ueer si era aun meior que aquella *Cron* 217a4

sal(l)ir.

The pure, *a*- and *para*-infinitive constructions occur with this verb.

salieron los de dentro para lidiar con ellos *Cron* 463b4
salio . . . para yr degollar el carnero *Cron* 504a51
sallio . . . para confirmar el pleito con el *Cron* 587b34
. . . que seliessen para yr a la batalla *Cron* 689a40

tornar.

The pure, *a*-, *de*-, *para*- and *en*-infinitives are also noted with *tornar* as an intransitive verb; the *a*-, *de*- and *para*-infinitives with *tornar* as a reflexive; the *a*-infinitive with *tornar* only as a transitive. No iteration appears in *tornar* in this instance:

torno para acorrer a los suyos *Cron* 558a17

uenir.

This verb is not found as frequently with *pora-* as with *por-*infinitive. Instances of the *pora*-construction with *uenir* are taken from the *Crónica* only, while a large part of those having *por* come from the *Cid*, etc. The infinitive pure, as well as with *de*, *a* and *por*, is also noted with *uenir*. Cases of dependence on *goal* clauses with *uenir:* *Cron* 400a44, 443b51, 516b34, 527b13, 693b18.

uinieron pora auer batalla con ell, et matarle o echarle de la tierra *Cron* 339b39
uinieron pora acorrer a los del castiello *Cron* 406b49
uinie . . . pora correrle la tierra *Cron* 415b42, 449b5

The pora-Infinitive with Reflexive Verbs

63. Approximately the same number of reflexive verbs take *pora* as *por* with the infinitive, though in neither class is the number of examples for each verb very large. In this section as in the last, all except one of the citations are from the *Crónica* (*mouios pora lidiar toda la criazon*, Alix 209). But while the *Crónica* particularly affects *pora* with the infinitive, it does not at all neglect *por*. At least half of the instances with *por-*infinitive come from this prose text. In both the *por-* and *pora*-groups are noted *ayuntarse*, *guisarse* and *leuantarse*, *guisarse* being used the most frequently (*guisosse por yr a ueerla*, Cron 38b19; *leuantosse por yr su uia*, Cron 146a36; for corresponding *pora*-constructions, see individual verbs below). A greater proportion of reflexives implying motion, hence naturally favoring the *goal* of *a* and *pora*, is found in this group than in the corresponding *por*-group (e.g. *ayuntarse*, *esforçarse*, *leuantarse*, *mouerse* and *partirse* below).

aguisarse.

No other infinitive uses occur with the reflexive form of this verb, but as a transitive *aguisar* takes the *por*-infinitive also. The simple *guisarse* is noted frequently with *por-*, *pora-* and *para*-constructions.

aguisosse pora yr a so hermano *Cron* 23a34

ayuntarse.

Ayuntarse also takes the *a-* and *por*-infinitives.

se ayuntaran . . . pora amparar el castiello *Cron* 287b7

esforçarse.

De, a and *pora* are noted with the infinitive in *esforçarse* locutions.

non dexauan de esforçarse pora sobir por las pennas a arriba *Cron* 71a8

guisarse.

De, por and *para* are found in other infinitive uses of *guisarse.*

guisosse pora yr a Carthago *Cron* 25b15, 153a37, 154a3
guissosse pora lidiar *Cron* 159a22
estauan y guisados pora guardar las entradas de Affrica *Cron* 53a17
en guisando se pora alçar otra uez *Cron* 204b27
se guiso pora yrle ganar *Cron* 245a38

leuantarse.

Leuantarse also takes the pure infinitive, as well as that with *de, a* and *por.*

se non osarien alçar nin leuantar pora correrle la tierra *Cron* 644a19

mouerse.

The *a*-infinitive also occurs with *mouerse.*

mouiosse . . . pora yr lidiar con ell *Cron* 245a22
mouios pora lidiar toda la criazon *Alix* 209

pararse.

As a transitive, *parar* is used once with the *para*-infinitive.

non auien con quien se parar pora defenderse *Cron* 365a35

partirse.

It is a conspicuous fact that no other infinitive construction of *partir* is noted in these texts, whether as an intransitive or as a reflexive verb, except the *de* of *separation.*

partieron se luego pora yr robar las tierras de Italia *Cron* 230a40

tornarse (*Goal* clauses occur in *Cron* 251a46, 354a18. *De, a* and *para* also occur in infinitive constructions of *tornarse*).

ouo sabor de tornarse pora ueer su tierra *Cron* 546a48

The pora-Infinitive with Transitive Verbs

64. This group is not as strong as the corresponding *por*-group. *Aguisar* and *enbiar* occur both with *por-* and with *pora*-infinitives (e.g. *como aguisarie poyo . . . por veyer todo el mundo*, Alix 2460; *pora seyer omne bueno tu lo as aguisado*, Alix 50). Of the verbs taking the *pora*-construction, those with which the *purpose*-infinitive may be said to approximate the object-infinitive are *aguisar, aplazar, buscar* and *ordenar* (*el mandauan buscar pora matallo*, Cron 128b8); with *dar* and *tener* the *pora*-infinitive has an almost purely *purpose* function, while with *enbiar* the element of *goal* predominates (for examples, see the individual verb below).

It is evident that instances of the infinitive depending on transitive verbs (with an object present) easily become ordinary cases of clausal dependence, since the modifiers of the transitive verb may minimize the closeness of relation between it and the infinitive: *enuiaron le a Espanna, sennaladamientre pora conquerir e ganar Çamora*, Cron 29b31.

aguisar.

Por-infinitive also occurs with *aguisar* as a transitive.

pora seyer omne bueno tu lo as aguisado *Alix* 50

aplazar.

aplazolos pora ser y aquel dia pora consagrar la eglesia de sant Yague *Cron* 381a41

buscar.

The *de*-infinitive object is also found with *buscar*. The construction with *pora* substitutes the element of *purpose* for the almost purely object function of the *relative de*-infinitive (*Essos li buscaron de echarlo a mal*, Duelo 70).

el mandauan buscar pora matallo *Cron* 128b8

dar.

For a detailed discussion of a very similar construction with *dar*, see § 44, dealing with the *a*-infinitive (*dyol mucho a ganar*, Alix 981). The *de*-infinitive also occurs with *dar* (*diol . . . de comer*, Cron 523b34).

les dieron aquel pora justiciar *Cron* 29a43
so tal postura quel diesse el cuerpo . . . pora leuar a Leon *Cron* 490b16

enbiar.

The pure, *a*- and *por*-infinitives are also noted with *enbiar*.

. . . quel enbiassen ballesteros et peones pora conbater Valencia *Cron* 576a22
enbio tres omnes buenos . . . pora confirmar el pleito *Cron* 586b40

guisar.

The pure infinitive also occurs with the transitive *guisar; de, por, pora* and *para* with *guisarse*.

guiso sus huestes pora yr *Cron* 201a5

parar.

Para-infinitive also occurs with *parar* as a transitive verb; *a* and *pora* with *pararse*.

las azes que auien paradas pora lidiar *Cron* 221b33

tener.

Pora and *para* are found in practically equivalent infinitive uses with *tener* (*Allen mar tenie oio para pasar*, Cron 770b27).

no tenie ninguana cosa pora dexar de comer *Cron* 130b52
Teniela el buen omne non pora cavalgar,
Mas pora los mezquinos lenna acarrear *SMill* 272

The pora-Infinitive with auer, ser, etc.

auer.

65. Under *auer* but few instances of the *pora*-infinitive can be cited, but under *ser* cases are by no means so scarce. It will be recalled that the *por*-infinitive with *ser* and *auer* expressed

a *lack of realization* of the action of the infinitive (§ 54), and that the related expression of immediate *futurity* also made itself felt. For the *pora*-infinitive no such conditions are evidenced. There is a much stronger element of *purpose* expressed in *pora*, and a much lesser degree of *futurity* and *lack of realization*. In *Cron* 104b17 is to be remarked the closest approximation of the *pora-* to the *por*-infinitive: *ouieron siempre los de Roma pora uencer*. Even here *pora uencer* expresses little more of *futurity* than would the *a*-infinitive, if so used. *Purpose* is decidedly evident in the other three instances of *auer* with *pora*-infinitive.

todos auien vn cuer pora trayer las manos *Alix* 1028
Avien pora servirla meior devoçion *Mil* 618
Avia pora mi, avia pora dar *Mil* 760

fincar.

Along with *auer* and *ser* taking the *por*-infinitive was mentioned *fincar* fulfilling a similar function (i.e. that of expressing *futurity* or *lack of realization;* cf. § 54). *Fincar* with *pora*-infinitive occurs but twice, and then rather with a *purpose* sense than that noted for the *por*-infinitive:

pora verter su agua fincoli el forado *Mil* 213
assi que non finque aqui ninguno sinon dos peones pora guardar la puerta *Cron* 528a17

menguar (no other infinitive uses noted).

Purpose constructions are normal with this type of verb (cf. modern *me falta dinero para viajar*).

Mas pora fer tal pasta menguabalis farina *Mil* 274

ser.

A slightly different situation is to be remarked in *ser* with the *pora*-infinitive. This construction has more of the *futurity* of the *por*-infinitive, as well as a sense that is best rendered into English by *fit to, able to, of such a kind as to* (*los necios que no eran pora salir*, Cron 77a51). These delicate *nuances* are derived from the original *a*-function of *goal*, with added force

given by the *por*-element of *purpose* in *pora*. A closer approximation than usual of the *futurity* so common in *auer* and *ser* with *por*-infinitive is evident in *el dia que fino era aun pora uenir*, Cron 708a28.

fueron pora seruirle todos *Alix* 11
nin era por a fuyr nin era por a tornar *Alix* 1397
Non serie por a asmar la cuenta de las gentes *Alix* 1512
mataron sos padres . . . e todos los que no eran pora ayudar se darmas *Cron* 17a24
no era pora guerra ni pora gouernar la tierra *Cron* 132b52
no era ya pora gouernar bien ell imperio *Cron* 178a46
no eran pora seruir sennor *Cron* 180a29
se uio tan maltrecho de la enfermedat que no era ya pora andar en guerras *Cron* 213a1
non son pora casar con ellas *Cron* 601a44
fasta que fuesse pora mantener regno *Cron* 644a34
si nos dotra manera non punnamos del vengar, non somos pora paresçer antel *Cron* 610a46

The pora-Infinitive Depends on a Clause

66. In § 53 were discussed in detail various types of the *por*-infinitive depending on a clause as a whole instead of on a single verb. The same facts are in general true for the *pora*-infinitive as for that with *por*. A not infrequent type is *llegaron alli a Sant Pedro a ell aquel dia cient et quinze caualleros pora yrse con el*, Cron 524a47, where the *goal* of the arriving being already mentioned, the *pora*-infinitive loses the prime function it has with verbs of motion such as *llegar* (e.g. *quiso mouer pora yr contra Espanna*, Cron 101b8). The close dependence of the *pora*-infinitive on the main verb is evident in *ellos yendo ya pora ayudarlos*, Cron 440a4, as against the very loose construction of *Despues desto un dia fuesse el rey Almemon pora su huerta con grand companna de moros pora auer y su solaz*, Cron 504a19. Striking illustration of the parallelism of *pora* with the infinitive and *pora* with a noun (indicating the *goal* of the action) is found in the citation above and in: *tornosse pora*

Italia pora predicar, Cron 251a46; *tornose pora Germania pora guisarse*, Cron 354a18. The separate and the collective force of the component parts of *pora* is to be remarked in *fuesse pora Carmona et a Sevilla pora conquerirlas*, Cron 465b47.

Methieronse ennas naves pora Acre passar *Mil* 588
socauaron el muro pora ellos plegar *Alix* 213
dio con ella en Asia pora aprender ventura *Alix* 255
leuantaronse contra las otras yentes uezinas pora lidiar con ellas e conquerirlas *Cron* 219a27
allegaronse todos en uno pora correr la tierra, *Cron* 335b32
. . . quel ayudassen contra Abdalla pora darle batalla *Cron* 338b18
entraran en ella pora defenderla *Cron* 365a27
alçarase y pora cobrar el regno *Cron* 389b42
entro en aquel logar . . . pora crebantar el su monumento *Cron* 448b47
uiniera en Santa Maria pora saluar el mundo *Cron* 516b34

Also: *Cron* 347b3, 400a44, 443b51, 448b47, 463a38, 527b13, 704a3.

THE INFINITIVE WITH PARA

67. In *para*[1] Old Spanish possessed a derivative of *per ad* very similar to *pora*, the much more frequent derivative of *pro ad* (compare with *pora-* and *para*-uses the archaic and illiterate English *for to* with infinitive, as in Luke VII, 25: *What went ye out for to see?*). From the texts covered by this study, a comparison between the two can hardly be made, especially in the matter of frequency, so far overshadowed was *para* by *pora*. As shown in the last few sections, *pora* was a successful rival of *por* in the favor of the authors of the *Crónica* for the indication of *goal* and *purpose*. But *para* did not rival *pora*, much less *por*, in this or any other of our texts. Per Abbat uses *para* only once, and then in place of *pora:*[2] *para Calatayuth quanto puede se va*, Cid 775. The *Alixandre* offers a few sporadic instances of *para*-infinitive, but the *Crónica* again comes to the rescue with at least enough evidence to show increasing popular

[1] Cornu, *Romania* X, p. 94, and Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 311.
[2] Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* II, para.

favor for the *para*-construction. It is true that the same classes of verbs are noted with *para* as with *pora*, but instead of finding well-rounded and representative groups, only sporadic and occasional instances are at hand. The one group that might be expected to be strong, even with *para*, is that of the intransitive verbs of motion, but even here there are no regular examples of the construction at hand. Among the reflexives, there are only three verbs noted with *para*-infinitive: *apartarse*, *guisarse* and *tornarse*. Probably one reason for the infrequency of *para* was the very infrequent occurrence of *par*[1] (as used in oaths, etc. *par la cabeça mia*, Alix 652), while *por* was so generally used that *pora* was, for a considerable time, carried along with it. The later success of *para* was perhaps due at least in part to the fact that, if any clear distinction between *por* and the composed prepositions with *a* was subconsciously sought, it was much less confusing to use *para* than *pora* because of the too evident provenience of the latter.

An interesting and unique instance of *ser* with *para*-infinitive is noted in *SDom* 268, illustrating the function of *goal* in the *a* of *para*, as well as the *futurity* discussed for the *por*-infinitive with *ser*: *non fue para conplir lo el Abbat perezoso.*

The one passage in which the *para*-infinitive depends on a *goal* clause is *el fuese para el rey don Fernando a Toledo para meter rrecua a la frontera*, Cron 737b43.

The para-Infinitive with Adjectives

68. At least five adjectives are noted with the *para*-infinitive, this group forming one of the strongest of the *para*-constructions at this time. In comparison with *pora*, and even with *por* which did not particularly affect use with adjectives, the *para*-infinitive is still conspicuously weak in numbers. Past participles formed a very important type of adjective construction under the *por-pora* groups. This type of infinitive use is entirely lacking for *para*.

[1] Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* I, § 189.

bueno (used also with *de*, *por* and *pora*). The infinitive as subject is approximated in *Alix* 1449 (cf. *claro* below).

buena para poder fincar en su onrra . . . et para librar sus moros *Cron* 746a50

el jaspis que es bueno para omne lo traher *Alix* 1449

claro.

mas claro que espello para onbre se veyer *Alix* 1449

ligero (also takes the *de*-infinitive).

nunca para comer vi cosa tan ligera *Alix* 799

meior.

entendiendo quel era meior la fincada que la yda . . . para ençimar su conquista *Cron* 748b27

tal (used also with *por*-infinitive).

tenien que no auie nenguno dellos tal para uengallos de Annibal *Cron* 24b7

The para-Infinitive with Intransitive Verbs of Motion

69. No regular examples of the *para*-infinitive with intransitive verbs of motion are at hand, although this construction may well be considered a most characteristic type with *a*, *por* and *pora*. This fact clearly emphasizes the paucity of available examples with *para*, not any incongruity in its use with the intransitives. In *esi tiempo non era allegado Para reçibir soldada*, SOria 66, the *para*-infinitive depends on *tiempo* rather than on *era allegado*. For an instance of the *para*-infinitive depending on a *goal* clause, in which *yr* is the main verb, see §67.

The para-Infinitive with Reflexive Verbs

70. As was true of the intransitive verbs of motion cited above, so here with the reflexives, there are only three verbs to represent the group. These are, however, more actually representative of their type than are those noted under the other groups since each of the three reflexives is well known

with other prepositions than *para*. One of these (*guisarse*) offers four examples, which must be considered noteworthy for *para* at this period. All the citations below come from the *Crónica*.

apartarse.

The *a*-infinitive is also found with *apartarse*.

se quisieron . . . apartar para amostrar su orgul *Cron* 758b38

guisarse.

De, por and *pora* are also noted with *guisarse* in infinitive constructions.

guisandose para venir *Cron* 355a43
se guisaua para pasar alla et yr sobre ellos *Cron* 770b46
guisosse para yr taiar Carmona *Cron* 749a2
para alla pasar se guisaua *Cron* 770b50

tornarse.

As reflexive or intransitive, this verb is found with all the prepositions indicating *goal* and *purpose*.

se torno para guisarse *Cron* 741b1

The para-Infinitive with Transitive Verbs

71. Another small group, with varied though few examples, is this of the transitive verbs with *para*-infinitive. The following passage might perhaps better be cited as a sporadic instance of the noun with infinitive than under the transitive verbs, since the *para*-infinitive modifies the sense of *cabeça* with the *suitable to, such as to*, sense noted for the *pora*-infinitive: *non he cabeça para andar sin cofia*, Cron 752a42 (*no era ya pora andar en guerras*, Cron 213a1). *Tener oio*, on the other hand, is a regular verb and noun phrase governing the *para*-infinitive. *Parar* is most representative of the usual class of verbs belonging to this group. This type of infinitive construction of course easily becomes the ordinary case of the infinitive depending on a clause (see § 50).

parar.

This is a very representative verb of the transitive type. *Pora*-infinitive occurs with *parar;* the *pora-* and *a*-constructions with *pararse.* The phrase *parar azes* is also used in *las azes que auien paradas pora lidiar,* Cron 221b33.

fizieron nueuas de parar azes para los cometer *Cron* 759a10

reçebir.

No other infinitive uses are noted with *reçebir.*

A ti reçebió Don Xpo para ser su esposa *Loor* 204

tener oio.

Pora-infinitive is also used with *tener,* but not with a verb and noun phrase (*Teniela el buen omne non pora cavalgar, Mas pora los mezquinos lenna acarrear,* SMill 272).

Allen mar tenie oio para pasar *Cron* 770b27

THE INFINITIVE WITH EN

72. Diez[1] considers the Romance use of the infinitive with *en* to correspond in general to the Latin *in* with the gerund or participle (e.g. *constans in amicis laudandis*). Meyer-Lübke shows[2] that the extension of *en* is more notable in Spanish and Portuguese than elsewhere. Its sense can readily be understood in practically all instances, for it has preserved its primitive meaning and function better than most other prepositions. However, it has extended its sense to include the mental fields as well as the physical (*en sus pensamientos*),[3] and to refer to the surface of things as well as to the inside (*en la mesa*). The preposition *en* was used with the gerund more commonly than with the infinitive in the intermediate stages between Latin and Romance (as in modern French *en parlant à mes amis*). The fact that the infinitive came to replace the gerund to such an extent with *en* in Old Spanish was probably due to the ever increasing prevalence of infinitive constructions in general in this language. Compared with the necessarily restricted

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 225. [2] *Gram.* III, § 435.

[3] See Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 298.

field of the gerund, the infinitive could be utilized in an almost unlimited variety of ways. There was also the advantage that *en* had in itself most of the force of the gerund, and that if used with the infinitive a new field was opened for development, while if used with the gerund a mere strengthening of the same function resulted. One of the normal functions of the *en*-infinitive was to indicate the accompanying circumstances of an action (*estan desauenidos en creer muchas malas creencias*, Cron 185a17). This will be remarked in many of the citations below. The *en*-infinitive currently answers the questions *where* and *how* (*metio en conjurarlo mucho maior fimencia*, SDom 697; *auiuado en predigar*, Cron 277a32). From its original sense of *in, into*, it comes to have a very real function of *goal*, not so frequent as in *a, pora*, etc., but nevertheless easily recognized (e.g. with *punnar en* and *contender en*). The use of the *en*-infinitive with such phrases as *meter femencia, meter mano*, where the sense of the transitive *meter* determines the use of *en*, is particularly noteworthy (e.g. *metio mientes en meiorar su tierra*, Cron 294a48). Its fitness for answering the question *how* permits it in some cases to indicate the *means* of an action, as with the reflexives *deleitarse* and *darse vagar*. But *en* is particularly appropriate for use with adjectives (see following section: e.g. *En laudar la Gloriosa todos eran ardientes*, Mil 853; *crudos eran en mal fazer*, Cron 609a24).

The en-Infinitive with Adjectives

73. One of the most normal constructions of the *en*-infinitive is with adjectives, since with them it indicates *how* the action of the infinitive is applicable to the sense of the adjective (*muy sotil en assacar de suyo cosas nueuas*, Cron 121b48; *sabios . . . en deffender nuestra ley*, Cron 158a3). Delicate shades of other meanings can at times be felt in the *en*-infinitive (*place where, means, time*), particularly with participles which partake of the sense of the simple verb (*auiuado en predigar*, Cron 277a32; *engannada en te combater*, Cron 133b19). Even with participles the expression of *manner* is decidedly predominant in the *en-*

infinitive, other senses merging imperceptibly into this one. The *de*-infinitive most nearly approaches the *en*-construction with adjectives, but is not so strong or individual in prepositional force (*liuiano de creer el mal*, Cron 451a3; *franque en dar su auer*, Cron 477b7). The *de*-infinitive is quite frequently susceptible of passive force, while activity is most often postulated by the *en*-infinitive (*en veer muy çerteros*, Sig 55; *En laudar la Gloriosa todos eran ardientes*, Mil 853; *ligera de fazer*, Cron 420b11; *serie muy grieue cosa de contar*, Cron 20a46). Comparatively few of the adjectives below are noted with other than the *en*-infinitive (exc. *sabio, sabidor, auiuado*, etc.). The best single illustration of the use of the *en*-infinitive with adjectives is found in *Mil* 404:

> Si en fer el peccado fueron çiegos e botos,
> Fueron en emendarlo firmes e muy devotos.

(a) *Adjectives.*

ardiente.

En laudar la Gloriosa todos eran ardientes *Mil* 853

(bien) andante.

yo fuy bien andante en conbrar a uos, et uos fuestes bien andante en cobrar a mi *Cron* 618a44

çertero.

en veer muy çerteros *Sig* 55

crudo.

ellos cada uegada mas crudos eran en mal fazer *Cron* 609a24

flaco.

The citation below is of interest by reason of the modification of the adjective as well as the use of subject and object with the *en*-infinitive.

por se no mostrar por flaco de coraçon en lo uencer amor de mugier *Cron* 123a42

franque.

muy franque en soltar los pechos *Cron* 142a53
franque en dar su auer *Cron* 477b7
franque en partir et dar su auer *Cron* 478b49

piadoso.

fue tan piadoso . . . en la onrar et en uenir a su mandado, et en le dar et otorgarle todo quanto ella querie *Cron* 162a29

sabidor (noted also with *de*-infinitive).

En dar conseios malos era muy sabidor *Mil* 723

sabio (also takes *pora*-infinitive).

sabios en el saber . . . et en deffender nuestra ley *Cron* 158a2

sobeio.

Avinie bien sobeio en leer, en cantar *SLaur* 21

sotil.

muy sotil en assacar de suyo cosas nueuas *Cron* 121b49

uagaroso.

era muy uagaroso en dar las dignidades *Cron* 137a38

(b) *Participles.*

acordado (noted also with *por*-infinitive).

En saludar a ella era bien acordado *Mil* 102
En prender el su seso fueron bien acordados *SLaur* 4

auiuado (infinitive constructions with *por* and *pora* also occur).

auiuado en predigar *Cron* 277a32

complido.

era complido en dezir, et en fazer, et en dar, et en penssar todos los bienes *Cron* 692b19

desauenido.

estan desauenidos en creer muchas malas creencias *Cron* 185a17

engannado.

engannada . . . en te combater *Cron* 133b19

granado.

granado en dar elmosnas *Cron* 277a29
granado en dar de su auer *Cron* 278a6

sofrido (the *pora*-infinitive is also used with *sofrido*).

en comer sofrido *Cron* 277a36

THE EN-INFINITIVE WITH METER AND PONER

74. These two verbs are the most important representatives of the type of transitive verbs having an object with dependent *en*-infinitive. There is only one example of *poner* so used, but this is a normal illustration of the principle involved:

Ponian toda femençia en fer a Dios serviçio *SOria* 13

In this instance, *en* has an almost literal sense of *in, into,* thus preserving its most primitive and inherent force. *Meter* likewise keeps this normal force for *en* in all the various locutions cited below, resembling very closely that of *poner* above. The most frequent single locution noted is *meter femençia en* (*En buscarli muerte mala metien toda femençia,* Mil 378). As was true of the *en*-infinitive with adjectives, there is also for these *meter* locutions a corresponding *de*-infinitive construction. Here again the relative *de* introduces practically an object-infinitive (. . . *que uos meta en coraçon de sacarle ende,* Cron 355a20). In one instance, the pronoun *lo* takes the place of the substantive with *meter: lo que meter podiesse en captiuos sacar,* SDom 363.

meter cura.

en guardar aellos metia toda su cura *SDom* 18

meter femençia.

En laudar los sos fechos metien toda femençia *Mil* 27
En buscarli serviçio methie toda femençia *Mil* 50
En buscarli muerte mala metien toda femençia *Mil* 378
metio en conjurarlo mucho maior fimençia *SDom* 697
en fer aDios seruiçio methia toda femençia *SDom* 326
grand femencia metio ell en fazerla *Cron* 346b46, 347b16

meter mano.

metiera mano en robar las eglesias *Cron* 292b13

meter mientes.

metio mientes en meiorar su tierra *Cron* 294a48

meter mission.

En complir con su offiçio metien toda mission *SLaur* 5

meter voluntad.

metie en complirlo toda su voluntad *SDom* 263

VERBS WITHOUT OBJECT TAKING EN-INFINITIVE

75. In this group are included all the verbs taking *en*-infinitive that do not have an object present such as was discussed under *meter* and *poner* in the section above (*metio en conjurarlo mucho maior fimençia*, SDom 697). Several of these verbs are real intransitives that do not take a direct object under any circumstances (*pesar*, *estar*, *valer*), while others will be found that occur quite frequently with such an object (*dubdar*, *cuydar*). It will be found that in nearly all instances with these verbs, the *en*-infinitive indicates the *manner* of the action (as it does with adjectives, etc.) and rarely has its literal sense of *in*, *into*, noted with the transitive *meter* and *poner*. The *de*-infinitive is perhaps the nearest approach among the prepositional uses to the *en*-construction with these verbs, yet here the object relation predominates with *de*, while with *en* that of *manner* and *goal* are more conspicuous (in the end coming to a moderate similarity of sense: *siempre contiende de valer a cuitados*, Mil 623; *les era mester de contender en tenerse et non caer*, Cron 71a22; *Dixol que non dubdase de fer su maestria*, Alix 2230; *non dubdas en meterte a periglo de muerte*, Cron 40b12). The indication of *goal* by the *en*-infinitive is best illustrated in its use with *contender*, *punnar* and *trabaiar* (also taking the infinitives with *de* and *por*), and this is an important extension of the *en*-function (*punnaron en tollerse las tierras*, Cron 5a35; *trabaiastes . . . en ganar çibdades*, Cron 555b6). With *estar*, there is also a development of the *place* function in the preposition, and even greater *immediacy* of action is indicated than with *por* (*estaua en desempararse et dar se ya a morir*, Cron 91b33; *li estaba por exir la almiella*, SMill 343). With *durar* the *en*-infinitive is said to indicate time (*en ganar aquellas villas mio Çid duró tres años*, Cid 1169).[1]

acordar.

The *de*-infinitive is also used with *acordar; de*, *a*, *por* and *en* with *acordarse:*

acuerdan todos los sabios en contar el fecho de los godos *Cron* 217b1

[1] Menéndez Pidal, *Cid* I, § 161.

andar.

The prepositions *a* and *por* also introduce the infinitive with *andar*. The equivalent construction of substantive and infinitive is to be noted in this citation:

yo ando en seruicio de Dios et en uengar el mal *Cron* 564a33

consentir.

Consentir also takes the pure and *de*-infinitives.

non querie consentir con ell en seguir sus malas leys *Cron* 260b45

contender.

Next to *punnar* this is the most frequent verb taking the *en*-infinitive. Much the same sense is found in the two verbs, and with both of these the *en*-infinitive indicates the *goal* of the action (see introductory paragraph, this section). *Contender* also takes *de*, *por* and *pora* with its infinitive, *de* being most affected.

plorando delos oios contendia en orar *SDom* 579

Contendie . . . en fer a Dios plaçer,
Convertir los errados, los pobres apaçer *SMill* 100

Contendien cada dia en fer desaguisado *SMill* 367

les era mester de contender en tenerse et non caer *Cron* 71a22

contendie todauia en uenir a aquellas cosas *Cron* 664a31

mas cataron por contender en matar los enemigos *Cron* 704a19

cresçer.

No other infinitive construction occurs with *cresçer*.

cresçio en tener mayor companna *Cron* 574a35

cuydar.

The first instance below shows the *en*-infinitive in equivalent construction with the substantive *fechos*. Both cases differ notably from the types with *de*- and with pure infinitive (*cuydo de mentir*, Alix 2271; *non cuydo y peccar*, SDom 581), *cuydar* with *en* being strong and literal (*to think about, concerning*).

cuydan en los fechos de la carne et en beuer *Cron* 151b27
estauan cuydando en escoier rey entressi *Cron* 230a30

dubdar.

The *de*-infinitive with *dubdar* does not possess the slightly *temporal* sense given by *en*. The pure infinitive use is frequent with *dubdar*.

non dubdas en meterte a periglo de muerte *Cron* 40b12

entender.

The *a*-infinitive also occurs with *entender*.

El nono en cubdiçia mala quitar entiende *Loor* 90

estar.

Estar with *en*-infinitive indicates even greater *immediacy* of action in the infinitive than *estar* with the *por*-construction (see § 54). Usually it may be rendered by *to be in the act of*. The three instances at hand come from the *Crónica*.

estaua en desampararse e dar se ya a morir *Cron* 91b33
estudieron todas las conpannas del Çid en guysar sus armas et en armarse et en cargar las azemilas *Cron* 637a16
estando en partirse *Cron* 648b38

lazdrar.

No other infinitive construction is at hand for *lazdrar*.

mucho lazdre en la ganar *Cron* 605a30
. . . Que io tanto lazdrasse en la muerte pedir *Duelo* 125

pesar.

The *en*-infinitive is here a variant for the subject-infinitive so common with *de*, or without preposition, and may have a *temporal*, *instrumental* or *modal* function. The personal subject here becomes the indirect object with an impersonal verb.

. . . quel pesarie por uentura en dezirle que . . . *Cron* 644a46

punnar.

This is the most frequent verb of the group, *goal* being indicated by means of the *en*-infinitive, in the same way as that

noted for *contender* and *trabaiar*. This verb with *en*-infinitive is of frequent occurrence in the *Crónica*, but is not found elsewhere. The *de*-infinitive is also common with *punnar*. The two prepositions express two different views of the relation of *punnar* to its infinitive, *de* being rendered by *relative to, with respect to* . . . and *en* by *to, toward the goal of* . . .

punnaron en tollerse las tierras *Cron* 5a35
punnaron en la auer *Cron* 22a36
. . . que . . . punnassen en fazer bien *Cron* 3b32
punno el en mantener el sennorio *Cron* 168a42
punno en seruir al comun de Roma *Cron* 168b43
punnando en seguir la porfia *Cron* 214a36
. . . que punnassen en auer y otro conseio *Cron* 256b43
punnaua en abenir los omnes por amiztat *Cron* 388a3
punnaron en llegar su sennor a la mayor onrra *Cron* 390a29
punnaron en guardarse de fazer mal fecho *Cron* 392b39

Also: *Cron* 468a51, 549b43, 562a27, 744a49, 754a5, 755b4, 762a41, 762a2, 765b1, 771b7, 772b44.

ser.

Two cases with *en*-infinitive occur in the *Crónica*. Both instances may be considered as somewhat exceptional, the first as an emphatic substitute for the simple conditional of the infinitive, the second more regular in its indication of the *manner* of *fue con el*.

dixieron que serien en ayudarle a todas las cosas *Cron* 631b25
fue con el en guardarle del enganno *Cron* 672a42

tardar.

No other infinitive use is noted with *tardar*.

era meior de yr su carrera . . . que non tardar en combater castiello *Cron* 695b31

tornar.

With verbs of motion *en* naturally has a *place* or *goal* function. The preposition *a* is much more frequent in this use (*él a las niñas tornólas a catar*, Cid 371). Iteration is not apparent.

tornaron le en seer sannudos *Cron* 75a3
començaron . . . a tornar en tener lo por mal si fuxiessen *Cron* 75a19

trabaiar.

As with *contender* and *punnar*, principally the *goal* of the effort is here shown by means of the *en*-infinitive. *Trabaiarse* appears as a reflexive with pure, *por*-, *en*- and *de*-infinitives.

trabaiastes siempre mucho en ganar çibdades *Cron* 555b6

valer (u-).

The *en*-infinitive indicates *manner* in the first instance below. An *en*-variant for the pure subject-infinitive is seen in the second citation; cf. *pesar* above.

Todos los dias del sieglo en levar lo adelant
El Cid siempre valdra mas *Cid* 1442

mas ualie en auer alguno dellos consigo . . . que non tenellos esparzudos *Cron* 23a7

The en-Infinitive with Reflexive Verbs

76. A few reflexive verbs take *en*-infinitive to express the *manner* of an action (*darse uagar*, etc.). The *cause* or *means* is approximated with others (*preciarse*, *deleytarse*), while in at least one instance there is a *place* relation (*fallarse*). It is of course true that these relations are not absolute, but only relative; a fusion of functions can sometimes be noted (e.g. *preciarse*, cause and means) as well as instances where any one of several functions would fit sufficiently well (*trabaiarse*, goal, manner, time).

acordarse.

De, *a* and *por* are also used with the infinitive depending on *acordarse*.

non se acordaua en catar que omne era *Cron* 466a29
tan bien se acordara en guardar su omenaie et en quitar las arcas *Cron* 594a44

atreuerse.

The pure, *de-* and *a*-infinitives are noted with *atreuerse.*

atreuiendosse en lidiar *Cron* 324b13
se atreuien ya en ayuntarse en casa de vn alcalle *Cron* 565b29

darse uagar.

tan grand uagar se dio en las yr a assessegar *Cron* 127a6

delectarse.

See introductory paragraph, this section, *deleytarse.*

delectandose . . . en cantar a Dios et alabarle et pedirle merçed *Cron* 685b9

deleytarse.

See *delectarse* above.

se deleyta en ello gloriar *Alix* 2379
deleytauasse en auer muchas mugieres uirgines *Cron* 187b42

fallarse.

In this instance, a developed place function is noted in *en* (cf. *estar* and *ser* with *en*-infinitive above).

fallaron se el et el senado en alongallos lo mas que pudiessen *Cron* 230b48

preciarse.

The *en*-infinitive may express *manner* or *cause* with *preciarse.* The *de*-infinitive also expresses *cause* with this verb.

preciese en seruir a Dios *Cron* 311a14

trabaiarse.

One instance is noted above of *en*-infinitive with *trabaiar* and without reflexive pronoun. Used reflexively, this becomes a current construction in the *Crónica. Trabaiarse* occurs even more often with *de*-infinitive; cf. *punnar* and *contender* above.

trabaiaronse mucho en defender la cristiandat *Cron* 450b2
trabaiauase . . . en echar del regno a Yssem *Cron* 451b51
se trabaiarien si pudiessen en matar a ell *Cron* 457a31
non dexaua . . . de trabaiarse quanto podie en uer . . . *Cron* 462a51

se trabaiaua de buenas obras, muy mas se trabaio . . . en fazer fechos que plazien a Dios *Cron* 491b47

Trabaiarse also takes *en*-infinitive in *Cron* 632a33, 724a5.

THE INFINITIVE WITH OTHER PREPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONAL SUBSTITUTES

77. In this section will be treated the remaining prepositions, simple and composed, that occur in so few instances that individual classification is not necessary. These rarer prepositions and prepositional substitutes make up one of the most interesting word-groups of the language, because they illustrate the natural growth of language through the combination and adaptation of elements already present in the vocabulary of the people. In this way, participles might be utilized as prepositions (*durante, excepto*, etc.).[1] Another method of composing new prepositions was that of using adverbs with simple prepositions (most often *de* or *a*): *acerca de, cerca de, ademas de, menos de, enantes de, fuera de.* In some of these cases a preposition both precedes and follows the adverb. In this way *acerca de* can be analyzed as coming from *ad circa de, enantes de* from *in ante-s de*, etc. The adverb standing alone may be given the functions of a preposition (see *fuera* below). Aside from the method of combining the adverb and simple preposition to form new composed prepositions, there is the preposition and noun combination that likewise occurs quite often. Of this sort are the locutions *en guisa de, en logar de, en uez de, por razon de*, etc. These, when strictly analyzed, must be considered as a special type of the *de*-infinitive depending on a noun, but being employed in certain combinations so often they take on a group identity of their own. All the Romance languages utilize noun and preposition to form new combinations in the same way as Old Spanish. These combinations are theoretically limited only by the number and sense of the nouns concerned, since nearly all nouns offer themselves as possibilities for such combinations. Aside from these com-

[1] See Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 316.

posed prepositions, there are of course several simple prepositions, employed only occasionally (e.g. *sin* and *sobre*), which are also treated in this section.

açerca de, çerca de.

One example is at hand for each of these two forms. In the first form the locative preposition *ad* is prefixed to the adverb, in the other the adverb completes its meaning by merely taking *de* with the governed word. Thus the sense must originally have been *near in regard to, with respect to* (*relative de*). It should also be noted that the *a* of *açerca* is naturally attracted by *llegar*. (It is of interest in this connection that the *Cid* uses *aprés de* in the sense of *cerca de*, but not with the infinitive: *aprés son de Valençia*, Cid 1559.[1])

llego ya el dia açerca de ponerse el sol *Cron* 703b46
estaua muy cerca de conquerillos *Cron* 30a35

ademas de.

Here again the adverb derives its prepositional function from the use of *de*.

fueron y grandes alegrias ademas de alançar a tablados et de boffordar et de correr todos et de iogar tablas *Cron* 431b21

(a)menos de.

This combination appears with the first preposition separate from, or joined with, the adverb (*a menos de*), or with *a* omitted entirely (*menos de*). This is one of the more frequent of these composed prepositions, though all instances with infinitive come from the *Crónica*.

a menos de.

numqua fazie ninguna cosa a menos de seer y el maestro de las uozes *Cron* 122b49
matualo a menos de lo oyr *Cron* 131b36, 583a32

amenos de.

amenos de auer y calçadas *Cron* 12a15
amenos dasseguralle *Cron* 32b28
amenos de perder quanto auien *Cron* 736a18

[1] See Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 308.

amenos de saber . . . cierto logar *Cron* 36b33
amenos dabenir se con las yentes de la tierra *Cron* 15a17

menos de.

non farie fecho ninguno menos de mostrarlo a el primero *Cron*550a7
non podrien estar en paz, nin otrossi guerrear, menos de auer ell amor del Çid *Cron* 564b45

enantes de, antes que.

The form *antes de* is to be expected in Old Spanish with the infinitive, but it is not found in the texts examined.[1] The combination *enantes de* occurs once with the meaning that *antes de* would have: *iré a la cort enantes de yantar*, Cid 3051. Here a purely *temporal* sense is felt. With the conjunction *que*, *ante* and *antes* are found frequently in the *Crónica* with the infinitive, but the *temporal* sense of *enantes de* is not conspicuous in these constructions. On the other hand, the analogy with *mas que* seems to have operated, as well as that with the comparatives taking *que* and the infinitive in the sense of *than to*. But the *temporal* idea persists in *antes*, giving a fusion of the *temporal* and *comparative* senses in *antes que* that is not found in *mas que* and its equivalents. The use of a *temporal* for a more correct *comparative* construction is particularly natural to popular speech (cf. vulgar English *I'd sooner do this than that* and the colloquial *I'd starve before I'd accept charity*).

ante(s) que:

muramos todos ante que soffrir tantos pesares *Cron* 396b44
auien sabor de morir antes que ser uençudos *Cron* 416a24
querie seer ante muerto que beuir aquella uida *Cron* 427b23
ante deuiera yr al rey uer que entrar en la eglesia *Cron* 443b30
pusieron con ell de dargelos ante que perder . . . *Cron* 565a3
tenien la muerte ya por saborosa, ante que passar aquella lazeria *Cron* 586a38
ante que perder todo el regno . . . *Cron* 653b34
ante querrie lidiar con un uiuo que tirar un muerto del campo *Cron* 517b45, 453b3

[1] See, however, Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 307.

In only one citation above is the epenthetic negative employed after *antes . . . que*, a phenomenon common enough with *mas que* (*antes me quiero yr . . . que non ser uençudo en campo et fincar por aleuoso*, Cron 516a36).

como a.

This group occurs once in the *Crónica* with the sense of *as if to . . .*

çinnossela como a armar cauallero *Cron* 719a8

en guisa de.

This group illustrates the use of one of the nouns meaning *manner, way, fashion*, etc. similar to the French *de façon à* with infinitive.

en guisa de auer merçet *Cron* 675b13

en logar de.

This corresponds to the French *au lieu de, place where* thus being expressed in French by *à* and in Spanish by *en*.

En logar de servirte búscote grant pesar *SMill* 104

En logar de buscarli serviçio e amor
Buscaronli bulliçio e toda desonor *Duelo* 71

en logar de mantenerlos en iusticia *Cron* 333b43

en logar de ser consegeros son losengeros *Cron* 419a45

en quanto en.

Cf. French *quant à* with infinitive. The *en*-construction is found in this instance only.

dixoles que en quanto en husar ellos sus costunbres *Cron* 590b43

en uez de.

This group has the same general sense as *en logar de*, but with the noun concept at the basis of the construction *temporal* instead of *local*. The locution *en uez de* is rarer than *en logar de*, and is noted only in the *Crónica*.

en uez de castigar los otros . . . *Cron* 111b6

Fue estonce establecido en vez de comulgar, que cutiano viniessen todos la paz tomar *Cron* 289a2

en uez de sacar Castiella de la premia . . . *Cron* 392b33

fascas, fasta.

For provenience from Arabic *atá* and *hacia*, see Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 313.

pero juraron todos, tantos eran esforçados,
que se non fuesen dende fasta seyer vengados *Alix* 582

esto es dotar eglesia fascas darle arras como a esposa de Cristo *Cron* 540b6

fuera, fuera(s) de.

This group was probably of pre-Romance combination.[1] In this instance also the adverb sometimes took on prepositional functions directly.

Non sabien en la cosa nul conseio tomar,
Fuera yr a los montes otra viga buscar *SMill* 233

Non avie el obispo embargo nin laçerio,
Fuera cantar su missa e rezar so salterio *Mil* 709

non tenie en coraçon fueras de destroyllos *Cron* 49b14

era en todo guisado, fuera de beuir et de conquerir mas *Cron* 771a10

por razon de.

This combination of noun and prepositions, like *por tal de* with infinitive (see below), also expresses *purpose*. Only two examples are at hand, and those from the *Crónica*.

fizieron lo los godos so princep por razon de guerrear con el et auer batallas contra las otras yentes *Cron* 233a49

por razon de sacar aun mas auer *Cron* 684a33

por tal de.

This interesting combination is noted only in the *Crónica*, but in this text is exceptionally frequent. It expresses *purpose*, and may be considered as a strong substitute for the simple *por*. A rare instance of two *purpose* clauses depending on a

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* III, § 269.

single finite verb occurs in *los otros por tal de desfoyr la desonra et ell enxeco del pleyto, beuieron poçon por tal de se matar*, Cron 111b47.

por tal de la guardar *Cron* 122b45
fizieron lo que pudieron por tal de non perder el poder *Cron* 127a17
Començo a pensar Nero en muchas guisas por tal de no auer a obedecer a Galba *Cron* 127b43
por tal de auiualle el coraçon *Cron* 128b17
por tal de puiar todauia mas, punno en seruir al comun de Roma *Cron* 168b42
por tal de toller el sennorio a Maximino . . . puso sus pazes con Costantino *Cron* 182a20
por tal de desfoyr los sacrificios . . . fuxosse pora los montes *Cron* 184b3
por tal de fincar empaz *Cron* 214a25
por tal de auer los godos de su parte . . . dio Narbona al rey Theoderico *Cron* 239b51
por tal de cobrar la partida de la tierra que se quitara dellos Cron 286a31

Also: *Cron* 268a8, 286b4, 290b19, 314a43, 332a43, 503a33, 733a14.

saluo de.

Cf. French *sauf*, also with infinitive.

non pudo auer acuerdo de otro aperçebimiento, saluo de se acoier *Cron* 756a3

syn, sin.

Meyer-Lübke states that *sine* was adopted in all the Romance territory.[1] *Sin* with infinitive occurs rarely outside the *Crónica*. Its sense prevented any great development of function by the preposition.

syn esto entender *Alix* 393
sin otro mal lleuar *Alix* 2563
se fio en la palaura de sos enemigos sin tomar arrahenes dellos *Cron* 24a36

[1] *Gram.* III, § 509. See also Hanssen, *Gram.*, p. 309.

non deuen escapar sin recebir grandes penas *Cron* 34a49
sin fazer yo tuerto a to fijo *Cron* 151a41
fueronse luego sin espedirse allend mar *Cron* 275a4
tomara el solo el imperio . . . sin dezirgelo antes *Cron* 379b25
sin ell et sin consentirlo ell *Cron* 431a13

Also: *Cron* 484a23, 534a1, 676a27, 727a35, 728b47, 738b4, 739b18, 762a12, 127b12.

sobre.[1]

This preposition is found with *comer* as the infinitive in two instances. *Comer* is found at times to become largely substantival in nature.

nunca sobre comer non seas denodado *Alix* 59
fallecio el uino sobre comer *Cron* 113b29

sobre razon de.

In this combination is noted yet another variant for the simple *por* in its *purpose* function (see *por tal de, por razon de*).

fueronse pora Burgos sobre razon de fazer esta salua *Cron* 519a46

[1] For *sobre* and *sobra* see Hanssen, *Gram.*, pp. 310, 311.

PART III

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION

The Infinitive with Subject

78. One of the most striking constructions of Old Spanish is the infinitive with subject. Spanish cannot pretend to rival Portuguese in originality of treatment of this construction, since in Portuguese alone is found the personal or inflected infinitive with a distinctive form for each person, the personal ending being added to the infinitive.[1] It is not within the territory of this immediate study to describe in great detail the Portuguese construction, interesting as it is, but it deserves a few words in passing, so that the Spanish construction may not be confused with it. The personal infinitive in Portuguese has the same *raison d'être* as the infinitive with subject in Spanish, i.e. the necessity of defining the subject of the action, especially in those cases where confusion was probable. *Basta ser dominante* is not definite, but with *eu* added, all doubt of the application of the sentence disappears: *Basta ser eu dominante*. Inasmuch as at certain times *ser eu* had the form *seres* (*tu*) as its correspondent for the second person, *seres* was adopted as an infinitive form with clear indication of the subject. In the same way, other personal endings were borrowed from the conjugated verb to be added to the infinitive for similar use in the other persons. Originally restricted to phrases where the subject of the conjugated verb and that of the infinitive were different, the personal infinitive acquired gradual extension until it was employed where its subject was the object of an active verb, and then where the two verbs had the same subject. It was optional whether the personal infinitive

[1] See Otto, *Der Port. Inf.*, § 54–§ 67.

should be employed when the subject was the same for the two verbs, but when different, the personal form was regular.

In Spanish no endings are borrowed from the conjugated verb for use with the infinitive in order to indicate the subject. The subject takes the nominative form when standing with the infinitive, not the accusative as in Latin, and has no apparent organic connection with any other member of the sentence. This fact is noted by Diez,[1] who goes on to say that such a construction was absolutely foreign to Latin, and that it may be the transformation of a compound proposition into a simple proposition with the nominative form of the pronoun kept intact. Thus *el decirlo yo no os ofenda* may represent *que lo digo yo no os ofenda*, with the legitimate subject retained when the infinitive replaces the finite form of the verb. Diez would in the same manner explain the personal infinitive of the Portuguese. It does not seem to me necessary to seek so complicated an explanation for the Spanish construction. Subject-pronouns were apparently used with the infinitive in much the same way as with any other verb form. For the sake of emphasis, or to avoid ambiguity, the subject-pronouns were employed with ordinary finite verb forms (*quiere que yo diga la verdad*). What more simple than using the same pronouns for the same purpose with the infinitive, especially since, due to the unsettled language conditions of the times, the classical rule of accusative with infinitive might naturally have been forgotten long since by the common people who could neither read nor write? This use of subject-pronouns with the infinitive was especially facilitated by the non-existence in Spanish of intermediate pronominal forms for cases of emphasis and ambiguity (such as the French *disjunctives*). In any event, the fact remains that the ordinary subject-pronouns did function with the infinitive in Spanish and there appears no evidence of any desire to employ the object-pronouns similarly (*Lazdrar tu e tu Fiio*, Duelo 92).

[1] *Gram.* III, p. 230, 2.

The use of the article with the infinitive when the latter has a subject (*el decirlo yo*) later becomes regular in Spanish, but in the texts utilized for this study is not noted. This is probably due in part to the fact that in the early language the pronoun-subject stands before the infinitive more frequently than in later periods, and in this position the article is quite superfluous (*non me semeia guisado de uos yo conseiar que uayades*, Cron 497b41). The third person masculine singular (*el, ell*) as subject is kept regularly after the infinitive, thus avoiding any possible misconstruction (*sin consentirlo ell o su fijo*, Cron 431a13; *mas guisado era de yr ell*, Cron 437a7).

In the paragraphs immediately following, examples of the pure infinitive with subject will first be given, then corresponding instances of the prepositional infinitive similarly used. These illustrative examples are taken from various texts, and show a variety of syntactical constructions. The *Cid* is notably lacking in such infinitive types, while the *Crónica* employs them abundantly.

non serie buen derecho A vassallo ageno io buscar tal provecho *Mil* 739

Serate, sancto padre, por grant yerro tenido
Tu entrar en tal çena, yo fincar desffamnido *SLaur* 67

bien es que gela dedes, et yo darle XV de mios fijos *Cron* 507a26

In the three citations above, the subject is a pronoun and clearly in the nominative. Other instances of such pronominal use will be found under the prepositional infinitive. A considerable number of noun- and pronoun-subjects occur, which are also considered to be regular, i. e. in the nominative.

. . . fago me mucho marauillado
pueblo de tan grant presçio por natura senado,
en cosa tan abierta seyer tan enbargado *Alix* 1190

serie grant daño tantas gentes morir *Alix* 2169

El obispo que esso auie de ministrar
non conviene sin sangue quel rancon entrar *Sac* 91

Faziese Alixandre mucho marauillado
omne tan mal traydo seyer tan acordado *Alix* 2193

e la sangre de los romanos seer esparzida por los sus terminos *Cron* 45a51

lo que era peor de todo, uenir los dAffrica a Roma *Cron* 45a49

e seer aquellos uençudos *Cron* 46b31

grieue cosa es dexar el omne lo que mucho a tomado en costumbre *Cron* 73a13

tal conseio como aquel nin uuscar se ell omne tal ayuda ni era cosa prouechosa nin de fazer *Cron* 75a8

et seer ellos onrados *Cron* 108b2

e affogar omne sus fijos es dalles de pequennos et assoora grandes sennorios *Cron* 145b43

Lazdrar tu e tu Fiio por las almas salvar *Duelo* 92

profession fazer el frayre, es renunçiar el mundo *Cron* 692a3

. . . que . . . estar todo so fecho com en uentura de se perder *Cron* 23a9

es uillania lidiar omne por costumbres contra lo que ensenna a los otros *Cron* 143a7

por uer ell inffant a su esposa *Cron* 470a2

Costunbre era de cada dia yr guardar los herueros los cauallleros *Cron* 764a41

Asmaua en pues esto ques dexasen vençer,
desenparar las tiendas e todo el auer,
todos por do estouiesen foyr a grant poder
e toda la villa de Troya trasponer *Alix* 722

Certain instances occur in which there is no grammatical subject actually functioning with the infinitive, but in which the word that might have been construed as subject is given a prepositional relation to the finite verb forms. These phrases indicate how thoroughly a slight shift of expression may change the grammatical relation of the infinitive and its modifiers. A typical example of the process involved is *Alix* 26:

seria fiera onta e grant mal paresçer
por el rey Alixandre a omne obedeçer

The sense of the passage would remain perfectly intact if the *por* were omitted and *el rey* made the subject of the infinitive, but, with *por* employed, *el rey* becomes little more than an indirect object, and *obedeçer* is deprived of its subject. Other prepositional relations will be noted in the two cases below, and can be analyzed in some such way as that above:

> Grand cosa fue, Eneas, duna muger poder se deffender contra tantos enemigos, e non se poder deffender a la tu lengua sola *Cron* 42a41
>
> es bien atales omes solitarios beuir *Alix* 1602

Theoretically, any preposition is eligible to govern an infinitive with subject. In practice *de* is by far the most common. A typical example of the *de*-infinitive thus employed is at hand in *Cron* 692a28: *non serie ligera de mantenerla et gouernarla un prinçep.* Here the comparatively unattached condition of *prinçep* is particularly felt. Furthermore, the use of the *de*-infinitive in this phrase is clearly the same as in such passages as *Cron* 751a32: *serie guisado de yr*, etc. The prepositional relations in the citations below are numerous and interesting, but do not merit individual explanation at this time. It should be remarked, however, that the subject of the infinitive may be neither a noun nor a pronoun but a whole clause (*Mas porque es graue cosa de se mudar lo que uiene por natura, no pudo estar Nero que al cabo no saliesse del consejo de los sabios,* Cron 124b14).

> Dissolis a la ora de la alma essir *SMill* 299
>
> llego el dia açerca de ponerse el sol *Cron* 703b46
>
> numqua fazie ninguna cosa a menos de seer y el maestro de las uozes *Cron* 122b49
>
> dixoles que en quanto en husar ellos sus costunbres . . . *Cron* 590b43
>
> sin fazer yo tuerto a to fijo . . . *Cron* 151a41
>
> te terna danno alli por non te querer Dios ayudar *Cron* 40b47
>
> non devie . . . sofrir Por tan grant luminaria alli se encobrir *SMill* 40
>
> por auer las naues uagar de se salir *Cron* 761b28

el desden de no querer los omnes saber las cosas *Cron* 3a18
no era marauilla de tan grand mortandat seer mostrada por tantas sennales *Cron* 236b34
se non quiso partir de la postura que tenie dell officio de Francia seer recebido en Espanna *Cron* 542b51
serie carrera de auer todos paz *Cron* 410b16
repintiosse por quel cresçiera tan grand cobdicia de querer ell auer tod ell Andaluzia tan ayna *Cron* 558b28
era cosa desapuesta de tan grand prinçep . . . ueuir desordenado Cron 718a35
es rrazon . . . de gelo razonar omne *Cron* 728a50
no era derecho ni bien de seer ellos so el poder de los romanos ni aguardallos *Cron* 230a26
. . . de uos querer agora assi embargar a uos et a uuestras compannas de leuar muertos a uuestros logares *Cron* 405b31
Costumbre era . . . de criar se los donzelles et las donzellas fijos de los altos omnes en el palacio del rey *Cron* 307b30
guisado es de fincar uos assy *Cron* 609a30
mas noble cosa era de ueerle sus fijas et sus yernos assy *Cron* 639b8

Examples of the prepositional object of the finite verb standing in place of the infinitive subject are noted as follows:

Graue cosa fue all arçobispo de uenir . . . al rey *Cron* 291a19
uerguença es a omne de dezirlo nin de oyrlo, et mucho mas ya de seguirlo *Cron* 274a26

The Infinitive in Apposition with a Noun or Pronoun

79. The following citations illustrate the use of the infinitive in apposition with some other word in the sentence. This is strictly speaking the grammatical category to which the infinitives in these passages belong, yet probably in few cases did the writer or speaker realize any material difference between the cases of so-called apposition and those of the corresponding regular infinitive constructions. A good example of this type of infinitive occurs in *SOria* 200: *Yo non lo merezria de seer tan honrrada.* To the poet it doubtless made little difference

(except in syllabication) whether the *lo* were used in the sentence or not, though perhaps a degree of anticipatory emphasis was gained by the use of *lo*. In certain other cases, however, the pronoun had a somewhat more real function: *De dezir falsedades aslo por heredat*, SMill 267. Here the phrase would be rather incomplete without the pronoun, as a summing up at this point avoids any possible misunderstanding of the sense. It will be seen that the appositional infinitive was decidedly frequent, an abundance of examples being cited below. The infinitive might stand in apposition with a pronoun, a noun, or an adjective treated as a substantive (*Prisieron un conseio . . . Tornar enna Gloriosa que los façie arder*, Mil 388; *Siempre cobdiçie esto, . . . apartarme del mundo*, SDom 100; *qual serie lo meior: de yr a los moros o atenderlos*, Cron 392a38). Several instances are noted of the infinitive in apposition with a relative clause and its antecedent (*lo que era peor de todo, uenir los dAffrica a Roma*, Cron 45a49). There is found a greater proportion of the citations of this section from the poetry of the period than from the prose of the *Crónica*. This is doubtless due to the fact that it is the usual tendency of prose to be more simple and direct in its employment of language than poetry, and this construction of the infinitive in apposition was a decidedly indirect, though natural, mode of expression. In any case, the infinitive in this use is either pure or has *de* to introduce it (there being about twice as many without preposition as with *de*). Of those with *de*, a majority come from the *Crónica*. Only one case is noted in the *Cid*, and that is mentioned by Menéndez Pidal:[1]

> lo quel rogava Alfons el de León
> de dar sues fijas a ifantes de Carrión *Cid* 1928

Other illustrations of the appositional type follow:

> lo que era peor de todo, uenir los dAffrica a Roma, e parar azes ante la cibdat, e la sangre de los romanos seer esparzida por los sus terminos *Cron* 45a49

[1] *Cid*, § 161, 1.

ca esto era cosa que contecie muchas uezes en guerra: uencer los unos, e depues cobrar los otros, e seer aquellos uençudos: e aquellos que una sazon fueran sennores e onrados, uenir depues en seruidumbre y en desonra, e seer los otros sennores dellos; y esto era cosa natural que fuera siempre en el mundo e serie *Cron* 46b31

uusco esta otra carrera: de aluoroçar el pueblo contra el *Cron* 83a48

Pero a los que buenos salien, fazien les esta gracia de poner los otra uez por consules *Cron* 85b14

fizo el solo sin ayuda dotri lo que no sabien a otro omne fazer fasta aquella sazon, de matar ninguno en so cabo elephant *Cron* 90a28

Esto es sine dubio cosa bien ordenada,
oir primera mientre la liçion consegrada,
monstrar la con sus lenguas que es fe acabada,
desen comprir la obrar, offreçer la obrada *Sac* 56

ca dezir de la lengua, de manos non laurar
esso es flor sin frucho, prometer e non dar *Sac* 181

non lo tengo por seso averes tan granados,
meterlo a aventura a vn dicho de dados *Alix* 908

como ha de seyer quierouos lo dezir,
çercarlos en medio . . . *Alix* 966

Lo que Dario asmaua en medio lo çercar *Alix* 996

De seer en la catedra que tu estás posado
Al tu cuerpo sennero es esto condonado *Mil* 64

Prisieron un conseio . . . Tornar enna Gloriosa que los façie arder *Mil* 388

mas dezir « Non lo quiero » tenialo por peccado *SDom* 122

Asmo vn buen conseio, essa fardida lança,
traherlos a Sant Pedro *SDom* 264

Prisieron vn conseio . . . aduzir el enfermo *SDom* 542

Señor, sy Dios lo querie, tal es mj uoluntat,
prender orden e uelo, beujr en castidat,
en vn rencon çerrada yazer en pobredat,
beujr de lo que diere por Dios la Christiandat *SDom* 322

Lo que el Padre sancto cobdiçiaua ueer,
exir deste mal sieglo, enel bueno caer,
de todo su laserio el gualardon prender *SDom* 488

ca temja lo que era, ueer grant amargura *SDom* 517

metieron se aello de muy buen taliento,
rogar aDios quel diesse salut eguarimiento *SDom* 615

Asmaron un conseio, de Dios fue enbiado,
leuarlo al sepulcro del buen escapulado *SDom* 630

Siempre cobdiçie esto, e aun lo cobdiçio,
apartarme del mundo, de todo su bolliçio,
beuir solo en regla, morar entu serujçio *SDom* 100

Sennor, si tu quisiesses, yo mucho lo querria,
De vevir solitario commo vevir solia *SMill* 105

Avielo en costumne el santo confessor,
Non fablar con ninguno, nin exir a labor *SMill* 143

Asmó un buen conseio el varon don Onorio,
Venir en romeria al sancto oratorio,
Pregar al cuerpo sancto padron del territorio *SMill* 186

Si a vos semeiasse, nuestro seso tal era,
Ir sobre leoneses luego de la primera,
Quebrantar a Remiro, tollerlo de carrera *SMill* 407

El rey . . . Afinó un buen conseio . . .
Pagar a Santiago por alguna mesura,
Tornarlo de sue part en esta lit tan dura *SMill* 420

Pero en una cosa era yo acordado,
Si a vos semeiasse conseio aguisado,
Prometer al apostolo un voto mesurado *SMill* 422

mas diria vn seso, sy a todos plaçiese,
de dar salto en ellos *Alix* 1297

Non es pora buen rrey tal cosa fazedera,
podiendo entrar dentro, de sallir contra fuera *Alix* 2206

auie esta manera el rey de grant coraje
tomarles poca rrenta syl fazien omenaje *Alix* 2484

. . . Que gelo condonase . . . De fincar con Voxmea *SOria* 100

qual serie meior: de seruir a moros o a cristianos *Cron* 557b10

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[1] It has not been thought necessary to indicate for all words the orthographical variants most usual in Old Spanish texts: ç and z; i, j and y; u and v; nn and ñ, etc. The forms cited herewith are taken from the texts themselves; hence are not necessarily valid for the whole of the Old Spanish field.

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